

MAKING MEANING OF THE HMONG: A QUALITATIVE
CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY DISCOURSE IN THE
CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC OPINION

by

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ABSTRACT

This case study explores the multileveled community discourses through which members of the receiving community in Fresno, California, constructed their opinions of Hmong immigrants as evidenced in media and experiential texts.

Media frames of the Hmong are identified through close textual analysis in two media texts: a newspaper text consisting of 16 long articles from The Fresno Bee published between 1986 and 1991 and a broadcast text consisting of questionnaires completed by six broadcast professionals in the Fresno area in 1991.

The experiential text is comprised of responses to questionnaires distributed in 1991 through the snowball method and returned anonymously by study respondents. Transcriptions of 27 respondents' self-descriptions of their discursive experiences with and about the Hmong are analyzed through qualitative phenomenological methods. The analysis examines respondents' personal experience with the Hmong, interpersonal communication with others about them, and media messages to which they were attentive and explores the impact of those discourses on the construction of their opinions of the Hmong. The experiential and media texts taken together identify a catalog of ideas and perspectives about the Hmong that existed and circulated through public discourse in the Fresno area.

The study concludes that for respondents in this case, public opinion of the Hmong was organized and constructed in interpersonal discourse about them among respondents' personal and professional associates in their own small-scale interpersonal publics.

Opinion was formed within the discursive context of a multileveled network of parallel and intersecting discourses through which information and ideas about the Hmong were shared and transmitted across the community. Diverse community discourses about the Hmong converged in mass media stories and were displayed there, but the media did not set the agenda for or provide the context or dominant frames for discourse about the Hmong for this study's respondents. Personal experience with the Hmong was also less influential in opinion formation than was interpersonal discourse about them. Change in opinion, however, was a result of personal contact and experience with the Hmong.

A final dialectic between communication theory and the study's findings results in the suggestion of a profile for a communication model of public opinion formation that would explain the discursive opinion formation processes identified in this case.

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CHAPTER 1

THEORY, METHOD, AND TEXTS FOR THE QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION

Introduction and Literature Review

When I moved to Fresno, California, in December 1987, I was surprised to discover a large Hmong population living there. As a new resident of the community, I wondered who these people were, what they were doing there, where they had come from, why they had come, and what they were like. As a scholar, however, my questions were broader. Coming from an academic background in communication studies and influenced by notions of the personal and public construction of reality, I wondered how members of the receiving culture in Fresno viewed these newcomers and how they had developed their opinions about the Hmong.

When I turned to communication literature, I found that the study of public opinion in the field of communication has long been interested in the question of how individual and collective opinions emerge out of a social context.¹ Recent

*For example, Walter Lippmann (1941, originally published in 1922) approached the issue early in this century. More recently agenda setting and media frame theories and research have focused on opinion formation. (For summaries of research about agenda setting and media framing, see Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem, 1991; Wanta, Williams, & Hu, 1991; and Thompson, 1991.)

communication scholarship in public opinion (Durham, 1991; Kennamer, 1990; LaSorsa, 1991a; Price & Allen, 1990; Rimmer & Howard, 1990) has been a response to the spiral of silence hypothesis proposed by Noelle-Neumann (1974, 1984). The spiral of silence hypothesis "assumes that individuals are constantly striving to determine the overall distribution of opinion on issues before they take . . . the risky step of exposing their beliefs and opinions in public" (Kennamer, 1990, p. 393). Individuals often conform to majority beliefs by silencing their own nonconforming opinions, thus spiraling the perception that conflicting opinions do not exist and further fueling the majority opinion. Public opinion, then, is "essentially a 'pressure to conform'" (Price & Allen, 1990, p. 369) or "views the individual can safely express in public" (Rimmer & Howard, 1990, p. 47). Another of the basic assumptions of the spiral of silence hypothesis is that the media are the most basic and influential conduits of prevailing public opinion and that people rely on the media to gauge how closely their own opinions align with dominant attitudes.

Even though the spiral of silence hypothesis has been an important impetus for communication scholarship concerning the formation of public opinion, it has been challenged on several fronts by much of the research (see discussions in Durham, 1991; LaSorsa, 1991b; Price & Allen, 1990; Rimmer & Howard, 1990). One of the specific areas of objection is that the hypothesis assumes a unified mass rather than a diversified public.

Scholars have suggested other hypotheses and communication models by which to describe more accurately the process of public opinion formation, hypotheses that will account for a fragmented public that receives communication from many sources other

than just the media (see, for example, Durham, 1991; Wolfsfeld, 1991). Price (1988) says the thrust of future opinion research will be "to construct theoretical models of the way public opinion is created, maintained, and altered over time through individual-level cognition and social-level communication" (Price, 1988, p. 660). Price and Allen (1990) propose as an example that small-group social identification theory be applied to public opinion phenomena.

This recognition that mediated texts exist within the context of other discourse systems and that communication studies should acknowledge, account for, and further explore that context is one of the major thrusts in the recent communication literature (see Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976; Becker & Whitney, 1980; Carey, 1987; Carter, 1990; Coleman, 1991; Durham, 1991; Hirschburg, 1982; Jensen, 1987; Newcomb, 1984; Pettey, 1988; Rubin & Rubin, 1985; Rubin & Windahl, 1986; Shim, 1991).²

The Journalism Quarterly article "Effects of Personal, Interpersonal and Media Experiences on Issue Salience" by Lasorsa and Wanta (1990) is a good example of that look beyond media texts to other communication experiences that influence public thinking. Lasorsa and Wanta (1990) examine the agenda-setting function of the media in relationship to other communication messages and find that conformity with media agenda setting as to issue salience is high for those with high exposure and attention to the media; that personal experience "actually increases conformity to the news media's

²This interest in communication studies that look beyond the media is expressed in Carter's (1990, p. 283) position that scholars must focus on mass cognition as opposed to mass media and in William Stephenson's urging that scholars study "communication in the mass, not as communication of mass media" (Logan, 1991, p. 33).

agenda" (Lasorsa & Wanta, 1990, p. 813), but that there is "a negative relationship between interpersonal experience and media agenda conformity" (Lasorsa & Wanta, p. 812). The authors conclude that "before the interplay between personal, interpersonal and media experiences (emphasis added) in creating issue salience is fully understood much careful work remains to be done" (Lasorsa & Wanta, p. 813).

This emphasis on the interplay between personal, interpersonal, and media experience is also central to the creation of public opinion as discussed by Vincent Price (1988) in his article "On the Public Aspects of Opinion: Linking Levels of Analysis in Public Opinion Research." Price says there is a new paradigm in research on mass communication and public opinion (p. 659). It is an "information-processing" paradigm that "centers on 'cognitive processing, media framing, and active audience structuring and restructuring of images'" (p. 660).³ Price says this new paradigm flows from the cognitive sciences, and "most especially the notion of schemata that frame information processing" (p. 660).⁴ Because Price's discussion is critical to explicating the underlying assumptions of this dissertation, his article will be reviewed, paraphrased, and quoted quite closely here.

Price (1988) emphasizes that both words of the term "public opinion" must be addressed in communication studies—public, meaning social, and opinion, meaning cognitive. He says scholars must "construct theoretical models of the way public opinion

³Price here footnotes Beniger, J.R. (1987). Toward an old new paradigm: The half-century flirtation with mass society. Public Opinion Quarterly, 51, p. S55.

⁴For a thorough discussion of schema theory, see Wicks and Drew, 1991.

is created, maintained, and altered over time through individual-level cognition and social-level communication" (p. 660). The new information processing paradigm "must find suitable ways to bridge levels, to link individual-level information processing to the higher-level processes of public communication and social organization" (p. 660).

Price's (1988) general proposition is that communication research is "absolutely essential to advancing public opinion theory" (p. 660). The investigation of communication, unlike "purely individual-level or group-level analysis," necessitates "the analysis of cooperative cognition and expression undertaken by individuals attempting to chart a course of collective action" (p. 660).

. . . the notion that members of a public organize collectively through communication is fundamental to public opinion theory. . . . Researching this communicative process, I submit, requires us to analyze (a) cognition and opinion formation as individual phenomena that (b) operate within, and thus are largely dependent upon, the wider social context of public debate and collective organization, (p. 661)

Citing Park, Lippmann and others,⁵ Price (1988) establishes that framing public opinion as a communication process has long been a theoretical assumption that even predates empirical research. "Each [scholar] conceptualized public opinion fundamentally as a collective and communicative process, in which discourse over an issue was seen as structuring individual and collective opinion over time" (p. 661). Price refers to this notion as the discursive model of public opinion.

. . . opinion processes in large- and small-scale publics alike are fundamentally similar in one key respect: They are collective,

⁵Price (1988) cites Robert Park's doctoral dissertation (1916/1972), as well as the works of Cooley, 1909; Lippmann, 1922; Dewey, 1927; and later, Blumer, 1946. See Price, 1988, p. 661, for full citations.

communicative attempts to resolve shared problems and uncertainties. It is precisely this communicative setting that gives opinion formation its "publicness" . . . public opinion processes allow social groups to change and adapt over time; to alter and create consensual ideas, theories, or schemata, if you will; and to determine collective action based upon these ideas, (pp. 662-663)

Price (1988) continually reemphasizes that in the study of the discursive opinion process researchers must go beyond individual level cognition and opinion formation to an understanding of the communicative context within which the individual-level cognition occurs. This communicative context is "the structure of ideas that accumulate within the 'public domain'" (p. 663) or the "public 'catalogue' of ideas, symbols and perspectives" (p. 664).

Price's (1988) thesis, then, is that "opinion formation unfolds through public discussion" (p. 664). His further point is that mass communication ought to be studied in particular because "the 'conversation' through which a [mass] public organizes" occurs in the various media of mass communication (p. 664). Mass communication allows "coordinated mass attention, thought, and expression across a large and heterogeneous group to be brought to bear upon a shared problem or issue" (p. 665). "In terms of the discursive model, the mass media allow for the transformation of the mass (as a group of disconnected individuals) into an organizing, structured public" (p. 665).

Making his point again about the need to study both mass communication and individual-level communication to achieve an understanding of the discursive process of public opinion formation, Price (1988) describes some differences in the two levels of communication. Couching his comments in terms of political opinion, Price says there is "a fundamental asymmetry in the role of political elites on the one hand (those who

actively try to change the course of public debate) and the mass public on the other (those who follow ongoing public events and action with varying degrees of interest and involvement) (p. 665). In other words, public opinion about a political issue can be viewed as mass-mediated communication between political actors who wish to garner support for their views and members of the mass audience who are "learning about those views, discovering which individuals or groups advocate them, and ultimately deciding whom to support" (p. 665). This mass-mediated communication is very different from the "intensive face-to-face discussion reverberating throughout the masses" (p. 665). "People respond to public issues not in limitless idiosyncratic or individualistic ways but through participation in the wider collective process ..." (p. 666).

Price (1988) says that despite the new information-processing paradigm, "research in public opinion and mass communication has not quite fully incorporated the multilevel theoretical perspective" (p. 666). He says research still lives with the artificial duality between individual cognition and mass communication, an approach, he says, which fails to capture the process through which the levels are negotiated over time by individuals acting alone and within groups (p. 666). Research needs to explain "the interactive process of public discourse itself~in other words, the way that individuals, through their participation in public debate, collectively construct a common domain of ideas . . ." (p. 667).

Individuals, not the public, are the ones "doing" the constructing; but they do so cooperatively by taking into account what others are doing and saying, by encountering ideas others have proposed, or by formulating ideas in contrast or opposition to the views stated by others. If we are to remain true to a discursive model of public opinion, we want to study individual political cognition and opinion formation as forms of social

behavior, that is, as a means by which members of the public participate in a collective endeavor, (p. 667)

Having described the necessity of studying the discursive public opinion process, or "the simultaneity of individual and collective behavior, as a complex process of multiple recursive 'effects' crossing levels," Price (1988) concedes that it "is of course very difficult to capture in empirical research" but suggests that to do so requires decomposing the process analytically into individual levels of thought and action and the communication context within which this thought and action takes place (p. 667).

Although Price (1988) does not cite or refer to James Carey in his discussion of the discursive model of public opinion formation, his discussion is nevertheless reminiscent of James Carey's discussion of the ritual model of communication discussed below.

In the article "A Cultural Approach to Communication," James Carey (1975a) discusses the two alternative conceptions of communication—the transmission view and the ritual view. In the transmission view, communication messages are transmitted, sent, or imparted to others. The ritual view of communication, in contrast, "is linked to terms such as sharing, participation, association, fellowship..."; it "exploits the ancient identity and common roots of the terms commonness, communion, community, and communication" (p. 6). "A ritual view of communication is not directed toward the extension of messages in space but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs" (p. 6).

Carey (1975a) says communication scholarship has been grounded in the transmission view of communication, and he suggests, instead, that research questions be

reoriented to the ritual view. He proposes as an example the different insights that would be gleaned from the two different views in the study of the role of the newspaper in social life. In the transmission view the newspaper is seen in the role of disseminating information, thus raising questions about the effects of that information on a receiving public. In the ritual view, however, information is still imparted by the newspaper, but the reading of the paper becomes a means by which a person participates in social communication, much like participating in a religious ritual. In a study of the newspaper in the ritual view, one looks not at effects, but at "the role of presentation and involvement in the structuring of the reader's life and time" (p. 8).

Newspapers do not operate as a source of effects or functions but as dramatically satisfying, which is not to say pleasing, presentations of what the world at root is. And it is in this role, that of a text, that a newspaper is seen; like a Balinese cockfight, a Dickens novel, an Elizabethan drama, a student rally, it is a presentation of reality that gives to life an overall form, order, and tone. (p. 8)

Carey (1975a) describes the ways in which individuals produce, maintain, repair, and transform their realities through the symbolic process of communication. He says, "we first produce the world by symbolic work and then take up residence in the world we have produced" (p. 16) and that "to study communication is to examine the actual social process wherein significant symbolic forms are created, apprehended, and used" (p. 17). Journalism is one of the symbolic systems through which people create, express, and convey knowledge of and attitudes toward reality (p. 17) and is therefore one of the sites at which scholars can answer one of the questions that communication studies must address—how society struggles over what is real.

Within the context of the assumptions explicated in this review of Price and Carey, the significance of the attempt to understand the interplay between personal, interpersonal, and media communication experience in the construction of public opinion becomes clear.

Case studies of public opinion as it develops around new issues within a community can provide a point of entry through which that interplay can be understood and explored, through an examination of the discursive contexts within which opinions are generated. One such case study is described in Frank Durham's paper "Emerging Voices: The Multi-Leveled Process of Public Opinion in the Montgomery Bus Boycott" (1991). In a discussion that is consistent with those of Price and Carey, Durham shows that public opinion research is typically grounded either in macro (mass) or micro (individual) definitions and dynamics of opinion formation. He argues that the gap between the macro- and micro-levels must be bridged. "Such level-specific definitions fail to describe the dynamic process of public opinion by which society talks to itself and interactions across different levels occur (emphasis added)" (Durham, p. 4).

In his own case study, Durham (1991) uses the boycott issue as a basis for a multilevel analysis of the process of emergent minority opinion in the Montgomery bus boycott. His analysis concludes that for this particular new community issue, the media and government framed the dynamic within which public opinion took shape (Durham, p. 3). Durham's paper concludes that other case studies are needed to explore more fully the levels between micro- and macro-communication in public opinion formation.

One such study, "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach" (1989), has been done by William Gamson and Andre

Modigliani. In this study, media discourse and public opinion are treated as separate but parallel systems of public discourse within which meaning is constructed (p. 1). For Garrison and Modigliani, media frames and other public expressions about an issue are cultural-level discourse, whereas public opinion is conceptualized as the individual cognition that occurs within cultural-level discourse (p. 2).

Garrison and Modigliani (1989) argue that these cultural- and individual-level public opinion discourses should be examined as parallel systems of meaning-making and that causal assumptions should not be made. Rather, the interaction between the levels should be the focus of examination. They say:

We do not, in this paper, argue that changes in media discourse cause changes in public opinion. Each system interacts with the other: media discourse is part of the process by which individuals construct meaning, and public opinion is part of the process by which journalists and other cultural entrepreneurs develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse, (p. 2)

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) hold that "public discourse is carried on in many different forums," and that "rather than a single public discourse, it is more useful to think of a set of discourses that interact in complex ways" (p. 2). Such sets might include the specialist's discourse, the oral discourse of decision makers, challenger discourses, interpersonal discourse, and media discourse. It is the last of these that must be studied, say the authors, if one is interested in public opinion. Media discourse dominates cultural-level discourse because it both reflects and contributes to its creation (p. 3). The media serve in the complex role of being central to the way issues are framed while also being "a site on which various social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over

the definition and construction of social reality" (p. 3). (The authors attribute this quote to Gurevitch & Levy, 1985, p. 19.)

Despite the importance of the media to public opinion, however, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) acknowledge the importance of personal contact with an issue in creating public opinion; that "on many issues people encounter relevant phenomena directly rather than through mass-media accounts. They try to understand events in light of what touches their lives" (p. 9). Citing "dependency theory" (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976, 1982), the authors acknowledge that "the role of the media in the process of constructing meaning will vary from issue to issue" (p. 10).

In their study about the nuclear power issue, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) conclude that changing media discourse about the issue provided a context for public opinion formation about that issue. They contend, however, that to fully understand the ways in which the public use media as a tool for making sense of the world, methodologies must be employed that allow a glimpse of the thinking processes involved in the construction of public opinion (p. 36).

Coming back now to my experience in Fresno and to my original questions about the construction of public opinion about the Hmong, I believed that I had before me a rare opportunity for a case study of the "dynamic process of public opinion by which society talks to itself and interactions across different levels occur" (Durham, 1991, p. 4). Here was a situation in which a community was suddenly faced, without warning, with the problem of becoming acquainted with and assimilating a large population of an entirely new group of people. (See historical discussion in Chapter 2.) I was interested

to discover public opinion of the Hmong and the process by which individual members of the public had constructed their opinions. How did the receiving population develop opinions about who these new people were, what they were like, and what it would mean to have these newcomers among them?

A review of the literature, discussed above, together with my own experience at the scene persuaded me to consider interpersonal communication, personal experience, and mass communication in my study of the opinion-formation process, and to inform the study by the assumptions of the discursive model of communication. The validity of these assumptions will be one of the questions addressed by the dissertation. As Carey (1975a) discusses, in communication studies we examine not only the processes of communication, but also the construction, apprehension, and use of communication models themselves (p. 19).

Having come to some conclusions about the assumptions and focus of the study, the next question was by what method would I best come to an understanding of and be able to explain the process by which the construction of public opinion occurred. I turned again to communication literature to explore methods by which I could best incorporate the elements of personal, interpersonal, and mediated communication in the explanation of the public opinion processes involved in this case study. I found what I believed to be the appropriate approach in qualitative research because, as the discussion below will elucidate, it appeared that qualitative research would be more responsive than a quantitative study to the assumptions of the discursive model of communication, and that

the qualitative approach could better explain and accommodate the intricacies and complexities of an historical event that is beyond controls or replication.

Qualitative Research and Textual Analysis

In his "Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research in Mass Communication," John Pauly (1991) discusses the types of questions qualitative research can answer. He says, "qualitative studies investigate meaning-making," and that meaning is "the fundamental problem of communication" (p. 2).

Qualitative researchers want to study the shared systems of meaning that render individual messages intelligible.. .. The term communication most usefully describes the symbolic processes by which humans constantly reorient themselves to the world... . Qualitative researchers recognize the value of separating producers and audiences for some form of analysis, but emphasize that senders and receivers compete and collaborate in constructing reality. (Pauly, p. 3)

Pauly (1991) contrasts quantitative with qualitative research and concludes that the qualitative researcher does not isolate independent variables, rejects operational definitions, and does not specify hypothetical statements that the research intends to test. Rather, for the qualitative researcher, "social groups cannot be comprehended as statistically precise aggregates ... but only through the symbolic dramas by which groups articulate and integrate those demographic identities." Definitions are not imposed, but are allowed to arise from "the play of meanings" (Pauly, p. 6) in the language of everyday life. "For the qualitative researcher, knowledge exists only within the framework of some discourse that names the situation in which such knowledge works" (Pauly, p. 6).

The goal of qualitative research is "simply to render plausible the terms by which groups explain themselves to the world and to clarify the role that mass communication plays in such explanations" (Pauly, 1991, p. 7).

Isolated variables and factors do not constitute the object of qualitative research. Rather, "the qualitative researcher hopes to reconstitute a sense of the whole (emphasis added)" (Pauly, 1991, p. 10). The qualitative researcher maps the "hubbub of everyday life" as a "web of endlessly intersecting discourses (emphasis added)" (Pauly, p. 10).

Pauly (1991) says the communication behaviors most amenable to qualitative research methods are those that leave texts that can be read. For example, the qualitative researcher studies media artifacts as texts, "that is, as more or less integrated strategies of symbolic action" (p. 4). "The notion that qualitative researchers 'read' reality is metaphorical, of course—behavior as a text, understanding as an act of reading—but that metaphor can usefully describe what qualitative researchers do" (p. 10).

The first task for the researcher in gathering evidence, according to Pauly (1991), is to identify the texts to be studied:

Qualitative researchers do not offer their studies as illustrations of larger, supposedly more substantial theories. The topic of all qualitative research is the making of meaning. Each individual study displays that symbolic process at a different site, with a new script, cast of characters, set, props, and audience. But the [symbolic] process remains much the same. (p. 11)

Pauly says the notion of "text" can be broadly defined. It can include concepts of text as the "flowing stream of language," or individual works. Pauly defines text as "any inscription that fixes human action for contemplation and interpretation" (p. 14). A

text "inscribes human behavior in a way that makes it available to others" and "fixes moments in a continuing flow of language" (Pauly, p. 14).

Pauly (1991) says interpretation of the text might include "literary or rhetorical techniques of textual interpretation" (p. 12), the juxtaposition of different texts to make particular points explicit (p. 17), and a consideration of the cultural and historical landscapes in which the text was produced (pp. 17-18). Interpretations ultimately are drawn from the researcher's "immersion in the materials" (p. 19), and the interpretation itself becomes a text which makes "no claim of finality or certainty" of interpretation (p. 16).

Pauly (1991) says the purpose of qualitative research is to "know our cultural habitat"~not to mirror reality (p. 23). "The best a qualitative researcher can do is to marshal a metaphor, to argue that reality has been managed, detained, coped with, slowed up, clarified, scaled down, illuminated, intensified, or resurrected" (p. 23).

One qualitative study that exemplifies Pauly's discussion about qualitative textual analysis is Kevin Carragee's (1991) article about the New York Times coverage of the West German Green Party. His discussion of the assumptions underlying his study is relevant here. Carragee says, "It has become commonplace in mass communication research to emphasize not only journalism's role in the dissemination of information, but also the news media's contribution to the construction of meaning within a society (p. 1). (Carragee cites Carey, 1986; Hall, 1982; and Gitlin, 1980.)

News stories as symbolic accounts provide the public with definitions of social and political reality. The current focus on the news media as significant agencies of symbolic production reflects a broader paradigmatic

shift away from a transmission model of communication to a cultural or ritual model of communication. (Carragee, 1991, p. 1)

Carragee (1991) says, "content studies in recent years increasingly have employed qualitative methods in an effort to examine news texts as structures and interdependent wholes [reflecting] an increased awareness of the need to employ methods that remain sensitive to the role of language in the construction of meaning within news stories" (p. 6). He says his textual analysis of the Times coverage of the Greens identifies the dominant media frames or interpretive patterns by which the Times defines the Greens, discovers the meanings embedded in the news stories, and provides a thick description of the reporting about the Greens (p. 6).

Inspired by the goals and perspectives of qualitative research as expressed above by Pauly and Carragee, I believed that the qualitative approach would be appropriate for this study because qualitative textual analysis would allow a deep insight into both content and process in identifying the ways in which the Hmong were discussed in the media and by individuals, and the ways in which individuals used the discursive contexts of media experience, personal experience, and interpersonal communication in making meaning of the Hmong.

I turned next to a consideration of what texts I could find and/or construct that would be responsive to my interest in the dynamic process of public opinion by which society talked to itself (Durham, 1991, p. 4) and by which individuals constructed their opinions about the Hmong.

Research Texts: Descriptions and

Methodologies for Analysis

Recent communication scholarship in public opinion has emphasized the importance of studying individual-level experience and communication in the formation of personal opinions, as well as the content of media-level communication about an issue. As mentioned in the previous discussion, Price (1988) characterizes this endeavor as the study of the discursive public opinion process, or "the simultaneity of individual and collective behavior, as a complex process of multiple recursive 'effects' crossing levels" (p. 667). He suggests that it is "very difficult to capture in empirical research," but that to do so requires decomposing the process analytically into (a) individual levels of thought and action and (b) the communication context within which this thought and action takes place (p. 667).

Taking this perspective as a guide, I believed that in order to come to a full understanding, or a sense of the whole, of the opinion-formation processes that individuals in the receiving community experienced as they made meaning of the Hmong, the study's research texts would need to reflect individual-level experience and communication about the Hmong as well as media-level communication content. I therefore elected to study individual texts, or personal accounts written by individuals within the community about their opinions and their discursive experience with and about the Hmong, as well as media texts within which the Hmong are discussed (see discussions below).

Experiential Texts

Description of Experiential Texts

Among the central goals of the study is to provide an understanding of the communicative process by which individuals in the receiving community constructed their opinions about the Hmong newcomers among them and to identify the content of public opinion about the Hmong. Communication literature stresses the importance of looking at both the individual and the mass levels of discourse to achieve a sense of understanding about the whole process by which a community engages in discourse about an issue and by which individuals construct their opinions about the issue. Although the study examines media texts about the Hmong issue, the emphasis of the endeavor is on identifying, understanding, and explaining individual experience: the experiential texts are thus most central to the information sought here. Media texts will be discussed in a following section. This section on the experiential texts will describe and discuss the texts that will be used to explore the individual level of cognition, discourse, and experience with this issue. The section will describe the experiential texts, the process by which they came into being, and the rationale for selecting them.

The problem in finding a means of understanding the processes of the individual level of cognition about the Hmong was to find or construct a text that would provide insight into the content of individual opinion about the Hmong, as well as the influence of personal experience, interpersonal communication, and mediated communication in the construction of that opinion. It seemed important that the text be one which would draw on the use and play of words and meanings by which individuals could describe their own

opinion and experience, as opposed to a quantified measuring instrument of some kind. After consideration of various alternatives such as conducting group discussions about the issue, or holding in-depth personal interviews with individual subjects, it was decided to invite people to describe anonymously their experiences in writing in response to a set of selected questions. The advantages of this approach would include the following: it would provide individuals an opportunity to reflect on their answers in a nonpublic setting; it would allow them to be shielded by anonymity and thus to express openly their opinions; it would allow the study to tap a much broader range of individual experience and to explore each individual's experience in more depth than would be possible in group or personal interviews; it would provide structure to the kinds of data that would be gathered in that all individuals would respond to the same questions presented in the same format; and it would result in texts written by the individuals themselves as opposed to a second-hand text of their experience as constructed by the researcher.

With this as a rationale, a 28-point set of questions (discussed below) was devised, printed, and distributed in a snowball fashion through the researcher's personal and professional contacts in the Fresno area in March 1991.⁶ (Each contact was given a stack of questionnaires with the request that they be distributed throughout their own personal networks.) Of the 250 sets of questions distributed, 63 were returned to me in self-addressed stamped envelopes. Of those, 27 were selected to comprise the research texts

⁶For examples of other studies in which the snowball method of data collection has been used, see Louis, 1985; Barram, 1985; and Benitez, 1982.

for this study based on the thoroughness and articulateness of the responses.⁷ One of the research questions addressed by the dissertation will be the efficacy of this method of data collection.

The appropriateness of studying the experience of participants who have been recruited by the snowball method and who have voluntarily submitted accounts of their experience, is affirmed by Colaizzi's (1978) discussion (reviewed more thoroughly below) in which he says that "experience with the investigated topic and articulateness suffice as criteria for selecting [the] subjects" (p. 58). Colaizzi also recommends collecting written descriptions of experience with a topic from subjects and analyzing the descriptions phenomenologically-all of which will be done here. The basic research assumption in grounding this study in the experiential texts is that human experience is an important content of scientific inquiry (see Colaizzi, 1978, p. 52) and that methodologies must be employed that allow a glimpse of the thinking processes involved in the construction of public opinion (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 36).

The questions to which participants responded were fashioned to elicit information about their participation in the personal, interpersonal, and media discourse that contributed to their opinions about the Hmong newcomers in their community, and to identify those opinions. Similar questions were asked in a variety of ways to facilitate

⁷This approach to the selection of responses in the construction of the research text is consistent with Pauly's discussion (1991) in which he says texts are not selected through statistical sampling, but through the selection of representative texts through the researcher's "general sense of the discourse. . . . In effect, qualitative researchers treat sampling as a narrative dilemma" (p. 12).

the process of eliciting more complete information from respondents. The following 28 questions were asked.⁸

1. Gender and age.
2. Occupation.
3. Stated briefly, what do you know about why the Hmongs have come to America?
4. Do you have direct/personal contact with Hmongs? Yes/No
5. If so, in what setting(s) do you have contact? (Work, home, PTA, school, etc.)
6. What personal experiences have you had with Hmongs?
7. What do you think or feel that is positive about the Hmongs? (What do you think is good about the Hmongs?)
8. What do you think or feel that is negative about the Hmongs? (What do you think is not-so-good about the Hmongs?)
9. Would you say your overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive, negative, or mixed?
10. Briefly, give some examples of positive, negative, and/or mixed experiences.
11. If you have had conversations about Hmongs with others, or have heard others talk about Hmongs, what kinds of comments have you heard others make about them?

Note that the spelling "Hmong" without an ending "s" is correctly used for both singular and plural of the word. In the question sets, however, it was decided to use "Hmongs" with an "s" as the plural form because it was my observation that this was the more common usage of the plural in the Fresno area, and also to avoid confusion. For example, in the question "Do you have direct/personal contact with Hmongs" the correct usage would have read "Do you have direct/personal contact with the Hmong." I reasoned that some respondents might wonder "which Hmong?"

In general, would you say other people that you know have had positive, negative, or mixed experiences with Hmong? Why?

Have you read newspaper stories about Hmong? If so, briefly mention what kinds of things you have read.

Have you heard anything about Hmong on radio or television? If so, briefly mention what kinds of things you have heard or seen.

When did you first begin to become aware of Hmong as a group? (Or when did you first begin to notice their presence in Fresno?)

What were your initial perceptions or impressions of them?

Have your perceptions/impressions changed over time? If so, why and in what way?

Have you encountered any difficulties in communicating with Hmong? (If so, what are they?)

Other than language differences, have you encountered any difficulties in working or living with Hmong? (If so, what are they?)

Briefly, what do you know about Hmong culture?

How did you learn these things about Hmong culture?

Do you think the Hmong have been stereotyped in any way? If so, what are some identifying characteristics of the stereotype? (For example: physical characteristics, mannerisms, lifestyles, clothing styles, economic practices, etc.)

Do you belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong? If so, what kinds of help has the group given?

What is the name or affiliation of the group or church?

Have you personally participated in any such projects? If so, what have you done?

What descriptive words would you use to describe your attitudes or feelings about the Hmong? (Use any descriptors you would

like. Here are some to stimulate your thinking: admiration, disinterest, curiosity, dislike, etc.)

27. What descriptive words would you use to sum up your attitudes or feelings about what the Hmongs are like? (Use any descriptors you would like. Here are some to stimulate your thinking: hard-working, lazy, odd, just-like-us, family-oriented, trouble-makers, pleasant, hard to get along with, nice, cruel, gentle, intelligent, unintelligent, hardship to our society, contribution to our society, shy, aggressive, etc.)
28. Please relate anything else about your perceptions of the Hmongs, about public perceptions that you are aware of, or about your thoughts and feelings about the Hmongs that have not been addressed by this questionnaire. (For example: Do you feel the Hmongs have a right to be here? Do you feel they have a fair claim to tax resources, welfare, etc.? Do you feel public perceptions about the Hmongs are valid? Do you have opinions about how the Hmongs are getting along in our culture? Please discuss anything that comes to mind.)

Responses to these questions by the 27 selected subjects are the basis of this study.

Because respondents' own accounts are the best vehicles for providing an understanding of their communicative experiences with and about the Hmong and of their thought processes in arriving at their opinions about the Hmong, those accounts have been included in the dissertation in full and constitute the entirety of Chapter 4. The written responses as they appear in Chapter 4 stand alone in a first person narrative fashion without inclusion of the precipitating questions which gave rise to the responses. The result is a seamless description of experience as provided by each respondent individually, and taken together there are 27 individual accounts of experience with this issue-or 27 experiential texts. The efficacy of this method of constructing a research text and the text's usefulness in describing and explaining social action are among the questions addressed by this study.

Each experiential text stands alone as an expression of individual experience in the process under study. Taken together, the texts are an expression of several individuals' experiences with this process from which patterns emerge. Inasmuch as the data were not gathered randomly, no claim is made that the opinions expressed about the Hmong are fully representative of the entire community or that the texts reveal the entire range of discursive experience with this issue among members of the community.

No claims are made in the analysis of the experiential texts beyond the texts themselves. In other words, the texts are read and analyzed, and conclusions about content and process in the creation of public opinion are confined to the evidence presented within the texts themselves and to the particular historical circumstances and research participants under study; no claims are made that conclusions drawn are applicable beyond the confines of the texts, of the respondents themselves, or of the particular social action in question.

[In qualitative research] the final research contribution is considered contingent, relative and expansionistic . . . dependent on the time, place, and cultural milieu of development and of being a historical rather than transcendent contribution to an ever-increasing form of public discourse called "knowledge." (Anderson, 1987, p. 260)

As Anderson (1987) discusses, qualitative research is preservationistic in that it emphasizes the individual rather than the aggregate. The inclusion in the experiential texts of the full individual responses to the questions asked, and the focus on individual opinion rather than aggregate and reductionistic statistics and claims, are therefore consistent with the agenda of qualitative research.

The experiential texts are treated as expressions of individual experience within a particular historical and cultural milieu and are not claimed to be representative of an aggregate. Nevertheless, the understanding of human experience of constructing personal opinion about this issue can at least lend insight to other people in other circumstances because the experiential texts demonstrate the ways in which humans encounter and process information. As Price (1988) discusses, the discursive model of public opinion is centered in notions of cognitive processes and the schemata that frame information processing (p. 660). Although it is not the intent of this study to explore or test schema theory, reference is made to the theory below to explain how the experiential texts can provide insight into opinion formation beyond the confines of this particular situation and these particular individuals, and in deference to the quantitative paradigm that has traditionally driven scholarly research that requires knowledge to be generalizable.

In their Journalism Quarterly article "Learning from News: Effects of Message Consistency and Medium on Recall and Inference Making," Robert Wicks and Dan Drew (1991) review the assumptions of schema theory and apply them to the study of audience recall of mass communication messages. They say people use schemata "to make sense of day-to-day situations" (p. 155). Schemata are cognitive structures that represent the knowledge a person has organized about particular issues, subjects, or people (p. 156). The relationship between schemata and terms which may be more familiar in communication scholarship becomes clear in the following quotation:

Terms such as prototypes, frames, stereotypes, social scripts and cognitive maps all share a basic theme with the schema concept. Although differences exist between each of the terms above, they all refer to a

categorization plan by which an individual summons a concrete image of the "average category member." (p. 156)

Schema theory suggests that people are "forced to economize while processing information" in terms of the images they store and process about particular issues or people, and that the schemata develop "as people gain expertise in a given topical domain" (Wicks & Drew, 1991, p. 156). Schemata allow people to organize and interpret information and to make inferences based on that organized knowledge structure.

When confronted with new information, people attempt to assimilate it into an existing schema. Assimilation refers to the process of searching for a schema that will aid in interpreting new information. If the process is successful, the existing schema will be strengthened by the addition of new information. When an appropriate schema cannot be found, a person must accommodate. This means a person will either attempt to establish a new schema or give up any attempt to cope with the new information, (p. 156)

The assumptions of schema theory are applicable to the discussion of this particular study in at least three ways. First, schema theory assumes that regardless of their individuality, people assimilate, organize, and store information in similar ways; the cognitive processes of humans can be expected to be somewhat similar. Second, the idea that schema develop from available information helps in conceptualizing the ways in which individuals draw on the ideas, symbols, and perspectives available in communicative/discursive public contexts to construct their private opinions about an issue. Third, schema theory provides a conceptualization and a vocabulary for the ways in which individuals constructed entirely new organized knowledge structures (schemata) about an entirely new issue (and a new people) about whom they had no previous information.

As will be discussed more thoroughly below, analysis of the experiential texts reveals the information individual members of the public had incorporated into their schemata about the Hmong as of the time of the study and expands on the media texts in identifying the catalog of ideas, symbols, and perspectives about the Hmong that had accumulated within the public domain as of March 1991. Further, the experiential texts provide insight into the interplay between personal, interpersonal, and mediated communication experiences in producing opinion about the Hmong and elucidate how individuals in this study participated in the collective endeavor of creating public opinion about the Hmong.

The experiential texts themselves are the heart of this dissertation. In them, the study's participants explain their experiences in their own words and, thus, answer the original questions that gave rise to the study about the process by which individuals constructed their opinions about the Hmong and the content of those opinions. The texts are also the basis for exploring the adequacy of the discursive and ritual models of communication, as well as other communication literature, in explaining the experience of these individuals in this situation. The experiential texts are presented in the dissertation as seamless narratives, or transcriptions of the participants' written responses, uninterrupted by inclusion of the questions themselves, and they stand alone to constitute a full chapter (Chapter 4). Full analysis of the experiential texts then occurs in the following chapter (Chapter 5).

Methodology for Analysis of Experiential Texts

As discussed previously, there is a growing interest in the field of communication studies in the consideration of other discourse systems besides the media that contribute to the creation of public opinion—especially interpersonal communication about and personal experience with an issue. The experiential texts address these other sources of influence on opinion about the Hmong. The questions to which the participants responded elicited opinions about the Hmong and the influencing factors in the development of those opinions.

Respondents' opinions about the Hmong and descriptions of their discursive experience in constructing those opinions are identified in the dissertation through the methodology suggested by Paul F. Colaizzi in his essay "Psychological Research as the Phenomenologist Views It" (1978). Colaizzi argues that human experience, as opposed to only observable, duplicable, and measurable phenomena, is an important content of scientific inquiry (p. 51). Nevertheless, the investigation of experience "should not imply careless or capricious methodological procedures: The investigation of human experience should proceed objectively" (Colaizzi, p. 52).

When someone is said to be objective, it means that his statements faithfully express what stands before him, whatever may be the phenomenon that he is present to: objectivity is fidelity to phenomena. It is a refusal to tell the phenomenon what it is, but a respectful listening to what the phenomenon speaks of itself. (Colaizzi, p. 52)

Instead of forcing experience to conform to the dictates of experimental method, Colaizzi (1978) recommends the various descriptive methods of phenomenology.

It must be a method which neither denies experience nor denigrates it or transforms it into operationally defined behavior, it must be, in short, a method that remains with human experience as it is experienced, one which tries to sustain contact with experience as it is given. This can be achieved only by the phenomenological method of description. (p. 53)

The phenomenologist openly inquires into areas that are of personal interest and curiosity, areas in which he or she wishes to achieve understanding, and proceeds from the assumption that "understanding the investigated phenomenon qualifies exquisitely as a criterion for research knowledge" (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 56). A search for understanding as opposed to control and manipulation of variables and outcomes requires a different methodology, one based on description of experience. In an investigation of how subjects have experienced a particular phenomenon, Colaizzi states, "Experience with the investigated topic and articulateness suffice as criteria for selecting [the] subjects" (Colaizzi, p. 58).⁹

Colaizzi (1978) recommends collecting written descriptions of experience with a topic from subjects and analyzing the descriptions phenomenologically using several

"Phenomenologically descriptive methodology cannot be and should not be rejected on the basis of its own usually unfamiliar philosophical anthropology, but should be measured only against the standard of its fruitfulness in accomplishing its own aims" (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 54). In a related discussion about the methods of qualitative research, Anderson (1987) says: ". . . author and reader alike must honor the perspective of the social construction. The [study's] claim . . . will not be simply the reflection of the analyst's a priori beliefs, but the product of a systematic effort in the coming to know another. Without subjecting you to a review of the philosophic notion of the incommensurability of perspectives, criticism of this effort must be appropriate to its character. . . . To criticize this effort for its lack of objectivity, random sampling, statistical measures of reliability, deductive logic, and the like is inane. Such criticism simply establishes the ignorance of the critic" (p. 355).

procedural steps. Quoted in part below, these steps are the basis for the analysis of the experiential texts in this dissertation. (The emphasis throughout is Colaizzi's.)

1. Read all of the subject's descriptions . . . in order to acquire a feeling for them, a making sense out of them.
2. Return to each [description] and extract from them phrases or sentences that directly pertain to the investigated phenomenon.
3. Try to spell out the meaning of each significant statement. . . . Particularly in this step is the phenomenological researcher engaged in something which cannot be precisely delineated, for here he is involved in that ineffable thing known as creative insight; he must leap from what his subjects say to what they mean. . . . Contextual and horizontal meanings are given with the [description] but are not in it; so the researcher must go beyond what is given in the original data and at the same time, stay with it. He must not formulate meanings which have no connection with the data.
4. Repeat the above for each [subject's descriptions], and organize the aggregate formulated meanings into clusters of themes. . . . Again, the ineffable consists in leaping from what is given in the meanings to themes given with them.
 - a. Refer these clusters of themes back to the original [descriptions] in order to validate them.
 - b. At this point discrepancies may be noted among and/or between the various clusters; some themes may flatly contradict other ones, or may appear to be totally unrelated to other ones. . . . the researcher must rely upon his tolerance for ambiguity; he must proceed with the solid conviction that what is logically inexplicable may be existentially real and valid. He must refuse the temptations of ignoring data or themes which don't fit. . . .
5. The results of everything so far are integrated into an exhaustive description of the investigated topic.
6. An effort is made to formulate the exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon in as unequivocal a statement of identification of its fundamental structure as possible. (Colaizzi, 1978, pp. 59-60)

Although the procedural steps above are outlined in a linear manner, Colaizzi cautions that they "usually develop with much overlapping among them, so that both the listed procedures and their sequences should be viewed flexibly and freely by each researcher, so that, depending upon his approach and his phenomenon, he can modify them in whatever ways seem appropriate" (p. 59). This explication of the various distinct steps is nevertheless useful as a description of the process that informs the analysis of the experiential texts in this study.

Media Texts

The content of media-level communication is important in the public opinion formation process because the media participate in public discourse about an issue in at least four ways.

1. A media outlet, such as a newspaper, becomes one of the voices in the public discourse about an issue; a voice that is comparatively loud because it is heard by so many, and thus comparatively influential in disseminating its views (frames) of an issue.

2. Because of the nature of media production processes and journalistic practices which report the views of individuals at key locus points affected by a community issue (government and private agencies, affected individuals, scholars, etc.), the media become forums for community discussion about an issue. As Price (1988) says, "the 'conversation' through which a [mass] public organizes" occurs in the various media of mass communication (p. 664). Mass communication allows "coordinated mass attention, thought, and expression across a large and heterogeneous group to be brought to bear upon a shared problem or issue" (p. 665). In terms of the discursive model, the mass

media allow for the transformation of the mass (as a group of disconnected individuals) into an organizing, structured public (p. 665).

3. The media provide a communicative context within which individual-level discourse and opinion formation occurs. As Price (1988) discusses, this communicative context is "the structure of ideas that accumulate within the 'public domain'" (p. 663) or the "public 'catalogue' of ideas, symbols and perspectives" emerging within the public (p. 664). As discussed in items 1 & 2 above, a significant portion of this catalogue of ideas, symbols and perspectives can be expected to be expressed and revealed in the media.

4. The media represent the social-, macro-, or cultural-level of communication/discourse identified by Carey (1975a), Durham (1991), Gamson & Modigliani (1989), and Price (1988).

With these points as the rationale for studying media content in this inquiry about the production of public opinion, the problem was to find appropriate media texts.

Newspaper Text

Description of newspaper text An on-site review during summer 1990 of the newspaper clippings available in the library of The Fresno Bee, the only daily metropolitan newspaper in the Fresno area, as well as those in the Fresno County Library and the library at California State University, Fresno, revealed that the storage and filing of articles about the Hmong had been done in such a way (often incomplete, sometimes by diverse categories, sometimes by date) that to use them would provide an incomplete and disjointed view of what was published about the Hmong and would also require an

arbitrary selection of what to include in the research text. Another problem was that the clippings files for the recent past were especially scanty, and microfilm files nonexistent, because all Bee storage had been turned over to VU/TEXT in 1986.¹⁰ The reference librarians in all three libraries referred me to VU/TEXT and suggested that this would be the best available source of data.

The storage and retrieval techniques of VU/TEXT proved to be a valuable resource. They allowed a complete retrieval of information within the dates of storage and an opportunity to objectively select a range of Hmong-related articles to include in the research text. The goal was to construct a valid text that would provide a glimpse of the catalog of ideas, symbols, and perspectives that had been circulated about the Hmong in the community, as revealed by the Bee. The study starts with the date that VU/TEXT began storing the Bee and proceeds from there until the time of the collection of the experiential texts (discussed above).¹¹ Fortunately, this time span turned out to be exactly 5 years. A 5-year collection of newspaper articles was unmanageable for purposes of close analysis, however, so it was decided to make use of the sorting techniques available in VU/TEXT to select an appropriate text.

VU/TEXT categorizes its articles as short, medium, or long. Long articles are those that comprise six or more display (computer) screens in length (approximately 1500

¹⁰VU/TEXT Information Services, Inc.; 325 Chestnut Street, Suite 1300, Philadelphia, PA 19106; A Knight-Ridder Company; (215) 574-4400; (800) 258-8080.

¹¹VU/TEXT began storing The Fresno Bee text exclusively in 1986. Other than clippings files in the Bee library, VU/TEXT is the only complete repository of the Bee from 1986 on.

words or more). It was reasoned that the long articles (as opposed to the short and medium lengths) would probably address more substantive issues, would be most likely to include meaningful discussions about the issues by key individuals within the community, and would therefore be most appropriate for an examination of community discourse about this issue.

Sixteen articles from The Fresno Bee were therefore gleaned from the newspaper database VU/TEXT. The sixteen articles that are used as the research text for this dissertation are all of the long articles (with the exception of obituaries) published by The Fresno Bee, and stored in the VU/TEXT database, in which the word "Hmong" appears in the headline or the first paragraph, or in which the word "Hmong" appears as a keyword for purposes of information retrieval, for the five year period from March 1986 to March 1991 (approximately 83 single-spaced 8-1/2" x 11" pages).

The analysis of the newspaper text addresses research questions about the ways in which the Bee framed the Hmong, and about the catalog of ideas, symbols and perspectives about the Hmong that had accumulated within the public domain as of March 1991. The discussion of the newspaper text (Chapter 3) precedes the experiential texts (Chapter 4) because the newspaper is conceptualized as part of the macro-level of discourse about the Hmong and the communicative context within which individual-level experience and discourse occurred, and it is reasoned that the experiential texts will be read with a greater depth of understanding within that context.

Methodology for analysis of newspaper text. To provide insight into the social-, cultural-, macro-level of discourse about the Hmong that took place within the pages of

the Bee and the communicative context within which individual levels of thought and action took place, the literature about agenda-setting and media framing (Tankard et al., 1991; Thompson, 1991; Wanta et al., 1991;) is used to explore and analyze closely the ways in which The Fresno Bee framed and discussed the Hmong.

In "Media Frames: Approaches to Conceptualization and Measurement," Tankard et al. (1991) say mass communication research needs a method to examine not just what events are reported in the news media—the goal of many past quantitative content analysis studies—but how the events are reported.... This is why we need qualitative research—to deal with the question of what the coverage is like ..." (p. 1). The authors suggest that "framing appears useful to researchers as a means of referring to how an event is portrayed" (p. 1) but argue that framing needs to be approached as more than a metaphor or by the "fiat" (p. 1) of researchers in simply declaring how stories have been framed. They argue, in short, for a more carefully defined method of ascertaining or measuring media frames.

After a review of the literature about framing, Tankard et al. (1991) propose a definition of the concept of "frame" as follows: "A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (p. 5).

Having defined the concept of frames, the authors turn to a method of measuring them. Their method includes creating a list of frames that arise inductively from looking at a sample of articles on a particular topic. All possible frames are identified in the articles, together with the specific language and arguments that serve as indicators of each

frame (pp. 6-7). The frames thus identified are categorized as pro or anti the particular issue under study. Finally, in a move from qualitative analysis to quantitative methods, a group of coders read the articles under study and code them according to the previously identified frames. This method is "an attempt to bridge the gap between a quantitative approach and a qualitative approach to the study of news" (p. 2).

This "list of frames" approach is one of several methods of assessing media frames. As Tankard et al. (1991) discuss, other methods include Gamson and Modigliani's "media package" approach and Swenson's "multidimensional concept" approach (p. 12). The authors say all these approaches share some common methodological difficulties; they note that "frames and frame elements must be redefined for each new topic being studied" (p. 12), and that none of the approaches regularly achieve "conventionally accepted levels of coder reliability" (p. 12). They suggest that one solution might be to allow coders to "engage in multiple coding, or the assigning of a story to several frames" (p. 12). They conclude that "framing appears to be emerging as such an important concept in news studies that some effective method of measuring it needs to be found" (p. 12).

Because this dissertation is not a quantitative study and because the qualitative approach has several advantages, the "list of frames" quantitative coding has not been used. The question of how an issue is portrayed and what the coverage is like is better understood by qualitative methods. Also, qualitative analysis allows a more thorough discussion of the multiple frames that arise from the texts under study.

Nevertheless, one section of the Tankard et al. (1991) article is particularly useful for this study in guiding the assessment of the frames used by The Fresno Bee in its coverage and portrayal of the Hmong. The authors provide a list of "framing mechanisms" that they say are the focal points of news presentations at which framing often appears. The framing mechanisms include the following: (a) headlines and kickers, (b) subheads, (c) photographs, (d) photo captions, (e) leads, (f) selection of sources/affiliations, (g) selection of quotes, (h) pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis), (i) logos (graphic identification of the particular series an article belongs to), (j) statistics/charts and graphs; and (k) concluding statements/paragraphs of articles (Tankard et al., 1991, pp. 6-7). This dissertation examines the media texts at these focal points where available in the VU/TEXT format to identify the ways in which the Hmong are framed.

Inasmuch as photographs, pull quotes, and logos are not available in the VU/TEXT format, they are not examined in this study. Also, headlines, kickers, and subheads are not easily differentiated in VUA'EXT and are therefore considered as one category. This, together with photo captions, leads, statistics/numerical information, and concluding statements/paragraphs, quotes, and sources are analyzed to examine the ways in which the Bee framed the Hmong.

Broadcast Text

Description of broadcast text. In an ideal world, the researcher would have access to all broadcast and newspaper coverage about an issue for purposes of analysis. With regard to broadcast coverage, however, this proved not to be the case in the real world

of Fresno. For example, the appropriate decision-maker at KJEO-TV would not allow access to video reproductions of news coverage of the Hmong, would not release files or information about the topics of stories that had been covered, and would not release names of employees for interviews. He did agree, however, to distribute questionnaires among his staff. This and other similar discussions with and requests for information from news directors and others at local radio and television stations made it clear that the only fixed texts I would be able to obtain about broadcast coverage of the Hmong would be the recorded recollection of such coverage by participating television and radio broadcast professionals. Consequently, question sets were delivered to the major news media outlets that were willing to participate, with the request that they be distributed throughout the stations. These were KSEE-TV (Channel 24), KMJ (news/talk) radio (580), and KJEO-TV (Channel 47).

The questionnaire distributed to broadcasters was comprised of the following 26 questions:

1. Do you work for television or radio?
2. What is your basic job description? (Reporter, producer, announced, editor, etc.)
3. Male or female?
4. Age?
5. Please tell about the first story that comes to mind that has been covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong. (You will be asked to mention at least three as the questionnaire proceeds.)
6. What images/perceptions of Hmong do you think this story projected to the listeners/viewers?

7. Did you personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Why or why not?
8. Please tell about another story that was covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong.
9. What images/perceptions of Hmongs do you think this story projected to the listeners/viewers?
10. Did you personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Why or why not?
11. Please tell about another story that was covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong.
12. What images/perceptions of Hmongs do you think this story projected to the listeners/viewers?
13. Did you personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Why or why not?
14. In general, what images do you think the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong?
15. What positive images have been projected?
16. What negative images have been projected?
17. Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmongs has had any effect on public perceptions of them? If so, what has been the effect, and what makes you perceive that there has been an effect?
18. Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmongs has had any effect on public policy about Hmongs? (Political policy, welfare policy, school policy, etc.) What has been the effect, and why do you think there has been an effect?
19. Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmong immigrants in Fresno has helped or hindered community acceptance of the Hmong? Why? In what way?
20. Have the stories that have been broadcast reflected images about the Hmong that are consistent with broadcasters' true feelings/attitudes about Hmongs? If not, what might be some true

feelings or attitudes about Hmongs that are not necessarily projected in broadcast stories about them?

21. Has there been management direction (direct or implied) at your broadcast outlet, or at any that you know of, that advises broadcast professionals what approach or slant to take toward Hmong stories? If so, what has it been?
22. Do broadcast stories about the Hmong treat Hmong men differently from Hmong women? Is there a different angle to the stories? What is the difference, if any?
23. What kinds of stories about the Hmong are most often broadcast? (For example: crime, cultural difference, Hmong achievement, etc.)
24. Are there any differences among the local broadcast media in the way Hmong stories are handled or in the kinds of images of the Hmongs that are projected?
25. Do you think the Hmong community has been happy about the images that have been projected about them by the broadcast media? Do you think the images are fair and valid? On what do you base your perceptions? (Assumption? Conversation with Hmongs? etc.)
26. Is there anything you could tell me about broadcasting and the Hmongs that has not been addressed in this questionnaire? Any insights you can give me will be appreciated.

Methodology for analysis of broadcast text Although return of the questionnaires was limited in that only six broadcast professionals responded,¹² the replies did result in good data. The written responses to the question sets that were returned from broadcasters are transcribed verbatim in Appendices J and K. They are summarized in Chapter 3, and analyzed through textual analysis in the same way as are the experiential

¹²One station manager expressed verbally that one problem with this project at his station was that his frequent staff turnover caused a lack of experience with the issue among the majority of those currently on staff.

texts. The information gleaned from the broadcast questionnaires is not lengthy but is nevertheless revealing and helpful in providing an historical sense of the kinds of broadcast coverage that Hmong issues received in the Fresno area. Even though the lack of actual broadcast transcriptions in the study was somewhat disappointing, it is not a liability to the integrity of the study. The interest in studying media texts with regard to this issue is for the purposes of expressing the communicative context or macro-level discourse within which individual-level discourse occurred, elucidating ways in which the media served as a site for broad public discussion about the issue and providing a glimpse of the catalog of ideas that the media had circulated about the Hmong prior to the collection of data from the experiential texts described above. As Chapter 3 will demonstrate, these goals are achieved in the information gleaned about broadcast coverage from responses of the broadcasters and from the thorough analysis of the newspaper text discussed above.

Experiential and Media Texts

in Juxtaposition

The media texts and the experiential texts together provide a vehicle by which to elucidate the catalog of ideas, symbols, and perspectives about the Hmong that had accumulated within the public domain of March 1991 and the interplay between personal, interpersonal, and mediated communication experiences in producing public opinion about the Hmong. They are evidence of the ways in which individuals participated in the collective endeavor of creating public opinion about the Hmong. The goal of the analysis of the texts is to facilitate an understanding of the social action that took place, in this

historical circumstance and in this location, in producing the opinions about the Hmong held by the respondents. The purpose is to achieve an understanding of "the social world in which [they] live[d]" (Anderson, 1987, p. 355).

[Qualitative research] directs its attention to the "heart of the matter." Understanding what is going on is not a matter of cataloguing the component elements. It involves that *voila* insight which puts it all together. (Anderson, 1987, p. 247)

Research Questions

One value of a case study is that it allows scholars to test the value of theories, models, and methodologies and to gather information about communication content and process, as they relate to a specific case in point. This case study about community discourse in the production of opinion about the Hmong provides just such an opportunity.

Beginning with the initial questions, then, about public opinion of the Hmong and the process by which individual members of the public constructed their opinions and moving through the theoretical assumptions discussed above upon which the case study is built, the dissertation addresses the following interrelated research questions:

1. What was the discursive process by which individuals within the receiving culture in Fresno, California, constructed their opinions about the Hmong newcomers, and what is the content of those opinions?
2. Do the research texts and methods appear to have been appropriate, useful, and successful in producing an understanding of the social action under study in this case?
3. In what ways are communication theory and the findings of this study mutually informing?

The research questions address at once a description of public opinion about the Hmong, the process of social action in the creation of that public opinion, the efficacy of the texts and methodologies used in explaining that process, and the adequacy of communication theory and models of public opinion formation in describing the process.

Progress of Dissertation

Chapter 1 has described the situation that gave rise to the initial question that prompted this case study, reviewed the communication literature about the construction of public opinion as well as the literature about qualitative research, and discussed the selection of research texts and the methodologies by which these texts will be analyzed.

Chapter 2 provides a brief history of the Hmong in the United States and in Fresno, together with a brief review of literature about host reception, media coverage about the Hmong, and the interface of Hmong culture with that of the receiving culture.

The media texts are then presented, analyzed, and discussed in Chapter 3.

The narratives from the experiential texts are included in full in Chapter 4, followed by analysis and discussion of those texts in Chapter 5.

Finally, in Chapter 6, conclusions are reached about the construction of public opinion about the Hmong through community discourse, the efficacy of the texts and methods used in the study, and the value of communication models of public opinion as interpreting theory.

CHAPTER 2

THE HMONG IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

This chapter will review the academic literature about the Hmong as it relates to the focus of this dissertation. The purpose of the review is to provide a cultural/historical context that describes the presence of the Hmong in the United States and in the Fresno area, as that presence relates to the interface between the Hmong and the host culture. Specifically, this literature review illuminates issues about host culture reception of the Hmong, media framing of the Hmong, public perceptions of the Hmong, and a few brief insights into the Hmong experience in America from the Hmong point of view.

Although there is no literature about the process by which members of the receiving culture constructed their opinions about the Hmong, some references in the literature are relevant to this discussion of Hmong reception by the host culture. Some of these will be reviewed briefly here as background to provide a sense of the broader historical and social context within which the social action of opinion formation occurred and to provide a fuller understanding of individual experience as expressed in the study's research texts.

Brief History of Hmong Arrival
in the United States

The Hmong people first began arriving in the United States in 1976 and in Fresno, California, about 1978. A vastly over-simplified history of the Hmong is that they were originally an ancient people who "were pushed south from China in the early 19th century and unwanted in Laos, they became swidden farmers in unoccupied highlands" (Sherman, 1988, p. 590).¹ In Laos they were a self-sustaining minority who organized themselves in clans; built their homes of bamboo, grass, and leaves; grew their own animals and crops; participated in and structured their lives around complex religious and social rituals; and developed a rich culture.²

During the Vietnam War era, many Hmong participated in the defense of Laos against invasion by North Vietnam and were involved as guerilla units in supporting the

Accounts vary about the period in which the Hmong left China and settled in Laos. For a more complete history of the Hmong, their ancient roots, the other names by which they are known, their settlement in the United States, and their secondary migration to Fresno, see the Indochinese Refugee Education Guides; Bliatout (1988); Cerquone (1986); Tollefson (1989); Tapp (1986); Hendricks (1986); and Downing (1982, 1984). Tapp (1986) is also an excellent resource for a description of Hmong culture, as is Gary Yia Lee's essay, "Culture and adaptation: Hmong refugees in Australia," in Hendricks (1986), and Rumbaut and Ima, The adaptation of Southeast Asian refugee youth: A comparative study (1988).

²"Taking into account their traditional existence—slash and burn cultivation in the mountains of Laos and a subsistence economy supplemented by a cash crop of opium; a largely kinship-based social and political organization; tribal autonomy, both political and economic; a world view characterized by animism, shamanism and ancestor worship; and a language only recently written (by a missionary-linguist)~of the various Southeast Asian refugee groups the Hmong are culturally the most disparate from the receiving society" (Schein, 1987, p. 94, quoting George M. Scott (1982): The Hmong refugee community in San Diego: Theoretical and practical implications of its continuing ethnic solidarity;" Anthropological Quarterly, 55T31 146-160.)

United States government in its Southeast Asian military activities. As a result, when the Communists took power in Laos in 1975, these Hmong were condemned for being American sympathizers and were subjected to what has been called a reign of terror by the Pathet Lao.³

Many Hmong (150,000 by some accounts) fled for safety from Laos to refugee camps in Thailand (the first groups arriving in the spring of 1975), but thousands were killed or died from exposure, disease, and starvation along the way. Approximately half to two thirds of those who originally settled in Thai refugee camps have been resettled in the U.S.⁴ In 1975 the United States Congress passed the "Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act" to help in the resettlement of some Hmong out of the refugee camps and into the United States. As a result, Hmong began arriving in 1976.⁵

³For a chronology of refugee events in Southeast Asia, see the chart in the appendix section from Enriched by Their Presence: America's Southeast Asians (1985) compiled by Joseph Cerquone of the United States Catholic Conference (Washington, DC).

⁴"It is imperative to avoid myopia in generalizing about 'The Hmong,' for it is their diversity that most confounds simplistic interpretation. Most Hmong never left China. Of those who were in Laos during the war era, only an estimated half sided against the communist Pathet Lao, and of those only some fled to become refugees after 1975. Of these, about a third remain in Thailand, the country of first asylum, whereas two thirds have chosen resettlement in various Western countries" (Schein, 1987, p. 104).

⁵There exists some debate among those involved world-wide with refugees about what constitutes a refugee. Expressed simplistically, if a man, for example, leaves his country because he is denied his civil rights, or is under threat of death or harm from his government, he is considered to be a refugee. If, on the other hand, he leaves for personal or economic reasons, he is simply an emigrant. There is some feeling that there are those among the Hmong who are leaving or have left Laos as emigrants rather than as refugees. For discussions that touch on these issues, see Tapp (1986) and Robert Cooper's essay "The Hmong of Laos: Economic factors in the refugee exodus and return" in Hendricks (1986); and Colson, "Migrants and their hosts" in Morgan and Colson (1987).

The Hmong were settled by the government in several states and communities across the nation. They did not stay long in some areas, however, and took it upon themselves to move their families, in what is called secondary migration, to locations of their choice.⁶

The peak period of settlement and secondary migration of the Hmong into California was in 1979-1981, and California quickly housed by far the largest group of Hmong in the nation. Bliatout (1988), for example, cites 1987 figures showing 47,000 Hmong in California, with Hmong represented in 24 other states (the closest runner-up to California being Wisconsin, with 13,200 Hmong).

The secondary migration had the biggest impact on the central valley of California—especially the Fresno area and surrounding communities. "The Hmong population in Fresno, which was about 30 people in July, 1979, increased to 2,000 in December, 1980. One year later, the number was about 7,000. In December, 1982, it had reached 12,000" (Bliatout, 1988, p. 11).

By 1987, there were Hmong in 18 California cities, the vast majority in the central valley, and, further, the vast majority of the central valley Hmong were settled in Fresno.

⁶"The [secondary] migration has caused much consternation among sponsors, social-service providers, and concerned policymakers who feel almost betrayed by the rejection of their investment in helping Hmong refugees adjust in scattered and disparate localities across the U.S. That feeling was based on the expectation that dispersal would speed their absorption into U.S. society and that this was desirable. From this perspective, Hmong motives for moving seem inscrutable. Their continued high rate (approximately 95%) of dependence on public assistance foils any explanation that the move was based on incentives of economic innovation. The belief that Hmong should be a linear path of "progress" toward self-sufficiency and cultural integration frames this most recent migration as a regression" (Schein, 1987, p. 89).

Bliatout (1988) reports that in 1987 there were 18,500 Hmong in Fresno, with the closest runner-up cities being Merced and Stockton with 6,500 each (p. 12). Estimates of Hmong population figures vary, however. Some have placed the population of Hmong much higher, such as 20,000 Hmong in Fresno in 1984 (The Fresno Bee, Letters to the Editor, March 30, 1984). The Office of Refugee Resettlement report entitled Profiles of the Highland Lao Communities in the United States, issued in November 1988, placed the number of Hmong individuals in Fresno at 24,000 (Yang & North, p. 33). All estimates agree, however, that the great majority of Hmong in America live in Fresno and its adjacent communities. Clearly, then, Fresno is the nation's city that has been most impacted by the arrival of Hmong immigrants in the United States and is thus an appropriate site for a study of this kind.⁷

Studies of the Hmong in Areas Outside of the Central Valley

Nearly as soon as the Hmong began arriving in the United States, researchers began to study them. This was a new people, unfamiliar to Americans. There were

⁷See The Hmong Resettlement Study. Site Report: Fresno, California (1984) for a discussion of Hmong settlement and secondary migration to Fresno and other central valley cities of California. See also The CURA (Center for Urban and Regional Affairs) Reporter, May 1984, Vol. 14(3), which says, in part: "The story that has captured the attention of Hmong leaders and Americans involved in resettlement in the past two years is the tremendous migration to Fresno and other cities in California's central valley (Sacramento, Stockton, Merced, Visalia). In 1981 there were only a handful of Hmong in Fresno; now there are over ten thousand. More than half the Hmong in the United States currently live in California. The Hmong have been attracted by the prospects of farming, the availability of housing, the mild climate, and the generous welfare benefits as well as the possibilities for family reunification" (Downing et al., p. 8).

suddenly enormous challenges in helping in the Hmong settlement. The customs and religious beliefs of this tribal people were alien to their American hosts. Their convictions and rituals created challenges for the medical community, for example, in trying to provide medical services to the Hmong, unaware that Western medical practices were offensive to their beliefs;⁸ and their essentially preliterate culture taxed the adoptive educational systems.

This section will briefly review studies of the Hmong immigrants in the United States.⁹ As discussed above, the review will be limited to topics that relate to the focus of this dissertation. For example, references to public perception and reception of Hmong immigrants and to media coverage of the Hmong, as well as to discussions about the interface of Hmong culture with the host culture, will be included. This literature review is included here to provide a context for the dissertation's examination of the production of public perception of the Hmong and of media coverage of the Hmong issue in the Fresno area.

⁸"Autopsies, cremations and other perceived abuses to the Hmong body (including the drawing of blood) in Western medicine and legal practice insult traditional Hmong cultural practices and religious beliefs. Hmong families repeatedly complain about deceased family members being autopsied without permission. In Hmong beliefs, failure to respect the body can have long-lasting effects on the surviving family members: Deceased ancestors may be angered, as yet unborn descendants may be born with defects homologous to the autopsy procedure (e.g., if the eye is cut, later descendants may be born blind, etc.) (The Hmong Resettlement Study, Site Report: Fresno, California, 1984, p. 57).

⁹The Hmong are referred to as "immigrants" (instead of "refugees") throughout this dissertation because it is a neutral term. An immigrant is one who comes into a foreign country to take up residence. A refugee is one who flees for safety to a foreign country. (The New Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 1989).

Studies of the Hmong first began at the University of Minnesota due to the social and academic interest in the large Hmong population that was initially resettled by the government in Minnesota. One of the first published works about the Hmong immigrants is The Hmong in the West: Observations and Reports (Downing & Olney, 1982), which resulted from a national Hmong Research Conference held at the University of Minnesota in October 1981. This book is representative of the kinds of studies done about the Hmong from then forward in increasingly greater depth over time. The topics explored in the book include Hmong clan leadership; marriage and birth customs; changes in religious customs with settlement in America; Hmong myths, folktales and legends; historical migration patterns; Hmong verbs, secret languages, aesthetic language, and speech surrogate systems; the effects of prior literacy and formal education on success in ESL classes; English error analysis; language policies for refugees; acquisition of English skills; Hmong sudden adult death syndrome; nutritional status; and employment assistance. These particular studies provide little insight into the issues of interest to this study and its questions about the construction of public attitudes toward and perceptions of the Hmong refugees within the receiving culture. There is one chapter, however, entitled "The Impact of Indochinese Resettlement on the Phillips and Elliot Park Neighborhoods in South Minneapolis" (Calderon, 1982) that clearly addresses the issue of refugee reception with the specific theme of the relationship between the Hmong and other minorities.

The neighborhood impact study was apparently conducted at the request of the mayor who was "concerned with the potential negative impact of several rumors regarding

the presence of Indochinese settlers in the two communities" (Calderon, 1982, p. 367). The rumors were that housing was not available for American Indians (this was the term used throughout the study in reference to Native Americans) because it had been taken over by the Indochinese; that the American Indians were considering arming themselves to protect against the Indochinese whom they perceived to be trained in the martial arts; that the Indochinese took jobs away from minorities such as Blacks and American Indians; that the Indochinese were receiving preferential treatment from whites in jobs and housing matters; that public health facilities had stopped treating native-born minorities in preference to Indochinese; and that "the Minneapolis School District has experienced significant anti-Indochinese participation by school teachers as well as blacks, American Indians, and whites, and fights along racial lines are increasing among the students" (Calderon, 1982, p. 368). Calderon states that the existence of the rumors was evidence of "the resentment of the native-born minorities" toward the Indochinese immigrants (p. 368).

The conclusions of the study prompted by these concerns, however, were that many of the Indians had not heard the rumors (but were worried and determined to arm themselves after being told of them); that some Indian leaders had said that "the Hmong are good tenants and that they bother no one" (Calderon, 1982, p. 368), that there were no serious racially motivated confrontations between Indian and Hmong beyond individual acts of violence (p. 376), that much of the Indian frustration was actually caused by Hmong occupation of low-cost housing in addition to an increase in rents that did not relate to the Hmong issue, that fights between students involving Hmong were

exceptionally rare (p. 379), and that the cause of greatest discontent against the Hmong was apparently the persistent rumor that they were receiving preferential treatment from social service agencies.

Another relevant study reported in The Hmong in the West is "Hmong in the Workplace." One goal of authors Hendricks and Richardson (1982) in conducting their study was to examine employer experience with Hmong workers, and to identify employer images of the Hmong as workers. This interest was associated with the "litany" of problems related to Hmong employment placement including "lack of skills, lack of English, and unfamiliarity with American cultural patterns surrounding work and the work place," together with the images created by the media in which the Hmong are generally portrayed as industrious people, striving to find jobs but unable to locate them" (p. 387).¹⁰

The authors conducted structured interviews with 25 on-line supervisors who had direct experience with Hmong employees to assess their opinions of the Hmong as workers. Almost without exception, supervisors described Hmong employees as "very good workers," "some of the best workers," and "harder working than the American workers" (Hendricks & Richardson, 1982, p. 390). Hendricks and Richardson report that the "employers are impressed by the productivity of the Hmong" (p. 390); that they perceived a difference in attitude between Hmong workers and American workers, and that the difference expressed was that the Hmong were "harder working" (p. 393); that

Hendricks and Richardson make these claims about press images of the Hmong without supporting evidence or citation.

they believed "in work in itself (p. 394); and that they would keep busy and find other work when their specifically assigned tasks were completed. The employers placed the Hmong in the low or never-absent categories and reported that they were less likely to terminate employment than other workers (p. 395). When asked if they would hire Hmong again, the employers unanimously replied in the affirmative. Some responses indicated that they would fill every opening with Hmong except that such a practice would meet with resistance from nationals.

The Office of Refugee Resettlement, U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, conducted several site reports of Hmong resettlement areas in 1984. Locations studied included Fresno and Orange County, California; Portland, Oregon; Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota; Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas; Fort Smith, Arkansas; and Providence, Rhode Island. A brief synopsis of the Hmong resettlement site reports was published in the CURA Reporter (published by the University of Minnesota, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs) in May 1984 (Downing, Hendricks, Mason, & Olney, 1984). The report states that there has been some discrimination and harassment against the Hmong, but "most American observers do not think the problems are very great" (Downing et al., p. 6). Nevertheless, the report says the Hmong are greatly concerned because of the sense that "they are not really wanted here" and that "Americans will never accept them" (p. 6). Downing et al. say, "These rumors first surfaced over five years ago when the Hmong arrived here and despite repeated attempts at education through school programs, community programs, and newspaper articles, they persist" (p. 6).

Downing et al. (1984) state that "the rumors that continue to circulate" about the Hmong are an "indicator of the antagonism that Americans feel toward the Hmong" (p. 6). The rumors cited are the same as those mentioned in the Minneapolis report, namely, that the Hmong eat dogs, that they are given a free car by the government, that they do not have to pay taxes for 7 years, that they get higher welfare benefits than other recipients, and that they get free apartments (p. 6).

The importance of positive public perceptions for the satisfactory assimilation of the newcomers, as perceived by both the Hmong and those who were trying to help them, is demonstrated in the following passage relating specifically to the Twin Cities area:

For several years various community organizations have developed education programs to help Americans learn more about the refugees and to bring the refugees and their neighbors together. The continued development of these kinds of programs is seen by many Americans and Hmong to be the best solution for problems of community tension and harassment. While we were conducting this study, many Hmong asked us to help teach Americans about the Hmong so that Americans will realize that they are good people, that they are not lazy but want to work, and that they hope in time to make their own contribution to American society. (Downing et al., 1984, p. 6)

The CURA report states that in many areas such as Providence, Rhode Island, and Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas, the Hmong enjoy a high level of employment because of the availability of jobs for unskilled labor. In the Texas communities, "about 90 percent of the adult Hmong are employed." In California, by comparison, "only 7 percent of Hmong household heads . . . are employed, compared to an average of 50 percent elsewhere" (Downing et al., 1984, p. 7).

Downing et al. (1984) comment that in the Twin Cities area, the Hmong are the primary refugee group and that as such they receive the most attention in the design of

refugee and public services. In other areas, however, "the Hmong are lumped together with the Vietnamese or other Southeast Asians in the awareness of both the public and the local service agencies" (p. 7). They say there may be a tendency for a receiving culture to view newcomers as an homogenous group. They therefore make a point of emphasizing newcomer diversity, even among the Hmong.

There are some [Hmong] with the education and experience to be able to do well in the United States, and there are many others who struggle with English and the strangeness of American society and dream about going back to Laos. Some Hmong have actively fought against economic dependency, others have fallen back on government promises made to them in Laos-that in return for the Hmong's assistance in fighting the Communists the Americans would take care of them if things went badly. The Hmong still need help, but what they want most is to be shown how they can help themselves. (Downing et al., 1984, p. 8)

The issue of the Hmong desire for financial independence and of their need to have the public perceive this desire recurs frequently in the literature. For example, in his book about all the Southeast Asian immigrants, Enriched by Their Presence: America's Southeast Asians, Cerquone (1985) includes an inset featuring a Hmong man in Fresno. This immigrant, Dang Vang, has devoted his efforts to creating a market for Hmong agricultural products for the benefit of his people. Dang Vang is quoted as saying that the Hmong need for help will not last forever. "'If people get involved with the Hmong, they find that we want to create something that is going to help us become independent'" (p. 13). Another example of this stress on the desire for independence and self-sufficiency is Shur Vang Vangyi's article "Hmong Employment and Welfare Dependency" in The Hmong in Transition (Hendricks, 1986). Vangyi concludes:

Many Hmong feel the welfare system serves to keep them on welfare and to keep them poor, and they recognize the irony in that situation. In many

states, the federal government has spent a lot of money to help the Hmong and other refugees to become self-sufficient, but this assistance has not been effective because of too much red tape and too many political clouds and arbitrary restrictions. Despite the many obstacles, the Hmong still share the major goal of refugee resettlement in this country: self-sufficiency. (Hendricks, 1986, p. 193)

The Hmong in Transition (1986) is a compilation of papers from the second Hmong Research Conference held at the University of Minnesota in 1983 (Hendricks, Downing, & Deinard, 1986, p. xi). The unifying theme of the diverse papers in this volume is a focus on Hmong culture, the "impact of resettlement" on that culture (Hendricks, 1986, p. 4), and an interest in how Hmong culture has changed as a result of the Hmong scattering, dispersion, and mass exodus from Laos. "The central question asked by most of those who are involved in the resettlement of Hmong refugees has been how to accomplish the process while allowing them to maintain their distinctive identity as Hmong" (Hendricks et al., 1986, p. 3).

Although the question about the maintenance of Hmong identity is not central to this dissertation, the conference report does make several references to adoptive community attitudes and receptiveness and to issues that relate to the interface between Hmong and American cultures that will be noted here. For example, in his essay, "Processes of Identity Maintenance in Hmong Society," Dunnigan (1986) says group identity "presupposes social boundaries defined by 'we vs. they' criteria" (p. 41), and the criteria by which the Hmong perceive themselves as "we" are explained. These specifics are discussed here as a tool by which to view the Hmong in the context of the American setting.

The first factor Dunnigan (1986) identifies as an element of Hmong self-perception (or sense of "we") is the formation and perpetuation of Hmong mutual assistance associations. These associations initially engaged in resettlement assistance activities but over time have become political entities which exist to "influence majority policy toward the Hmong" (Dunnigan, 1986, p. 45). Despite assimilation into the host culture, membership and activity in the mutual assistance groups is an identifying criterion by which the Hmong in the United States define "we."

The second factor that is central to Hmong group identity is their continued interest in the Laotian homeland, and the third characteristic by which the Hmong will continue to maintain their identity is through the preservation of their native language. Dunnigan says that despite acquisition of English proficiency, the Hmong language is and will continue to be used in Hmong rituals (Dunnigan, 1986, p. 47).

Fourth, Dunnigan (1986) identifies Hmong religious practices as a factor that will persist in Hmong self-definition. He refers to the widespread concern that conversions to Christianity would negatively impact maintenance of Hmong identity and the traditional kinship patterns that are integrally tied to Hmong religious practice. It is, however, Dunnigan's observation that the Christian conversions have not had the feared effect; that the Christian Hmong tend to meet separately and to use their own language in their services; and that "Christianity, as well as animism, has a special ethnic significance for the Hmong" (p. 48). The fifth characteristic identified by Dunnigan as central to the Hmong self-perception is the pattern of strong and broad interdependent networks of

kinship ties by which the Hmong marry, worship, provide mutual support, and establish alliance networks by which they can expect help and reciprocation.

It is Dunnigan's position, and that of several other authors in this Hmong conference report, that it is a mistake to assume that there was a definitive and stable Hmong culture that only began to change when the Hmong arrived in the United States. The culture, rather, was undergoing significant change in the homeland during the war, and in the refugee camp environment afterwards. In his essay, Dunnigan's interest is not in discussing the changes that have occurred in Hmong culture with the arrival here, but rather in identifying the enduring cultural characteristics by which the Hmong will maintain cultural identity. Although dramatic change is inevitable and the culture will adapt to the changed circumstances and although new social rituals will arise by which the Hmong will continue to identify their sense of "we," Dunnigan argues that cultural change will not result in identity loss (Dunnigan, 1986, p. 51). The Hmong identity will be maintained by activity in mutual assistance organizations, continued interest in the homeland, use of the Hmong language, unique religious practices, and interdependent kinship networks.

One further passage from Dunnigan's (1986) essay should also be noted in that it refers to media discourse about the Hmong. Dunnigan offers an assessment (unsupported by citation or analysis) of the ways in which the mass media framed the Hmong:

The Hmong were relatively unknown to the American public when they began arriving in the United States from Thailand refugee camps during the spring of 1976. Hmong leaders who spoke English moved quickly to establish contacts with American citizens willing to publicize how the

Hmong had supported United States interests in Laos. The resulting media coverage helped to identify the Hmong as a special group of refugees to whom the United States owed a considerable debt (p. 43)

Yet another study in The Hmong in Transition that provides a useful context for more fully understanding the point of encounter between the Hmong and the receiving culture in the United States is "The Hmong in Isla Vista: Obstacles and Enhancements to Adjustment" (Gross, 1986). This study explores the effects of cultural change on the Hmong in Isla Vista, California, and the factors that influenced Hmong adjustment in that area. The article begins with descriptors of the Hmong that Gross (1986) says were gleaned from "a number of articles about the Isla Vista Hmong" that "have appeared in both the local and national press" (p. 145). She gives no citations to those articles, but she does summarize them by saying they described the Hmong as "an illiterate, animistic, independent mountain tribal society, whose men were outstanding guerrilla fighters and whose people in general had never seen an electric switch or door lock, or lifted a pencil prior to their arrival here" (p. 145).

Based on extensive interviews with 11 English-speaking Hmong, Gross (1986) identifies the major obstacles to Hmong adjustment in Isla Vista. Her discussion is summarized here to provide a glimpse of Hmong interface with American society. Gross discusses lack of mastery of English as an obstacle to getting better jobs and, therefore, higher income and better housing but says that emotional and psychological factors are also major obstacles to adjustment:

Without some awareness of the anxieties and apprehensions that besiege the Hmong, one cannot begin to understand their difficulties in adjustment. Almost everything that alarms the Hmong can be considered an obstacle to their adjustment. (Gross, 1986, p. 146)

Gross (1986) says alarming obstacles and causes for deep anxiety for the elderly Hmong are "their concern over differences in burial practices" (p. 146) and their distress at the western practice of autopsy. The elderly are also concerned about changes and impending changes in Hmong culture. Gross reports that "the unhappiness of the elderly affects the entire community" (p. 147).

Economic difficulties are next in Gross's list of major obstacles to adjustment, followed immediately by "Hmong sensitivity to misrepresentations and inaccuracies about them in the press" which "serves to inhibit interaction with the outside community" (Gross, 1986, p. 148). Gross says that "contrary to the myth perpetuated in the press" (p. 148), many Hmong did attend school, and some are literate in one or several languages. "Neither is the persistent report that the Hmong have no written language accurate, since the Hmong language was endowed with a Romanized script by missionaries in Indochina" (p. 148).

Gross (1986) says misinformation circulated by the press is dangerous in that it affects the direction of official policy toward the Hmong and that "such irresponsible reporting further inhibits interaction with the outside community" (p. 148).

Gross (1986) reports that the Hmong fear being returned to Laos. She speculates that the sharp curtailment of welfare benefits was perhaps viewed by the Hmong as an indication of a change in policy toward them. She says that this is perhaps why the Hmong are reluctant to call police, even when they are the victims of crime. She speculates further that their unwillingness "to remember former non-Christian religious

practices may be seen as yet another manifestation of what they feel is their tenuous position in this society" (p. 149).¹¹

Gross (1986) says the Hmong experience anxieties "which they can never discuss with outsiders, ranging from horrifying war experiences to the forbidden existence of a second [polygamous] wife who had managed to enter the United States" (p. 150). One such anxiety is the loss of "authority, prestige, self-esteem and self-confidence" by family heads who in these new life circumstances must be dependent on both outside support and on their children. "Being corrected or criticized by offspring, however gently, is a source of embarrassment and sadness" (p. 150).

On a more positive note, Gross (1986) also discusses the factors that enhance Hmong adjustment. She mentions first the similarity in many Hmong and American cultural values such as "the hard work ethic, an emphasis on the importance of education, a strong desire for upward mobility and economic advancement, an independent spirit, high self-esteem and an emphasis on money" (p. 150).

These values are held for somewhat different reasons. While Americans value the material aspects that money can provide, the Hmong have traditionally used money—in the form of both bride-price and fines—to solidify marriages and maintain social order, (p. 151)

She further describes the Hmong as flexible, adaptable, and resourceful and says these qualities have helped them adapt (p. 151).

¹¹"The federal government reduced the period of refugee cash assistance from thirty-six to eighteen months in the spring of 1982" (Finck, 1986, p. 186). Gross (1986) reports that the refugee population figures were underreported by the Indochinese Community Project "in an attempt to minimize the Indochinese presence in the community—an example of fear once again, this time on the part of non-Hmong personnel concerned with the refugee community" (p. 155).

Gross (1986) reports that the "expectations of the welcome and assistance to be received in America appear to be low" (p. 151) among the Hmong and says that a contributing factor to this expectation is that historically the Hmong have always been a minority group. "Even in good times the Hmong have been tolerated rather than welcomed in the areas through which they have migrated" (p. 151).

The factors identified as the most important for enhancing adjustment are presence of the Hmong community and strong familial support.

Gross (1986) discusses the community reception of the Hmong in Isla Vista as compared to that in other locations and says that in Isla Vista "they are not subjected to the degree or intensity of hostility from other segments of the community that is being experienced by Hmong in some larger, problem-ridden communities such as Long Beach and Minneapolis" (p. 152).

On the contrary, in their contacts with Americans, the Isla Vista Hmong are exposed primarily to sentiments of concern, sympathy, admiration and friendliness. These come from teachers, welfare workers, students and other American community volunteers, (p. 152)

... the obvious desire of Americans in this community to help, and the expressions of warmth and welcome which are transmitted by Americans with whom the Hmong are in direct contact, are undoubtedly instrumental in easing the adjustment difficulties of the Isla Vista Hmong. (p. 154)

In her conclusions, Gross (1986) defines the Hmong as "survivors" who are "striving to accommodate and adapt to American society as quickly as possible" (p. 154). She says, however, that despite their resourcefulness, flexibility, and adaptability, "their internal community network is unable to dispel negative rumors or allay fears and

misunderstandings which arise concerning American motives, values and bureaucratic regulations" (p. 154).

In an essay entitled "Hmong Youth and the Hmong Future in America," Mary Cohn (1986) says the Hmong are a young, rapidly expanding population¹² and that "what the future holds for the young Hmong will eventually determine the outcomes of Hmong resettlement" (p. 197). Cohn says that although education is highly valued by the Hmong in the United States, the dropout rate is a major concern. She says it is attributable to academic difficulty, inadequate counseling, welfare disincentives, and early marriage and pregnancy (p. 198). Early marriage and childbearing for girls, especially, is highly sanctioned by traditional Hmong culture, says Cohn, and dropout rates for Hmong girls is high~50% nationwide, and in some areas is as high as 90% (p. 198).

Despite these obstacles, however, many Hmong are highly motivated toward education, "see higher education as their main hope for the future," and have a "very strong feeling of responsibility to share the education they receive by giving it back to the Hmong community" (Cohn, 1986, p. 199).

Hmong young people straddle two cultures. They often feel conflicts between the values of independence in the American society they encounter in school and in their neighborhoods, and the traditional values of interdependence in their own families. . . . In spite of the uncertainty about their future, they feel responsible for helping themselves and helping their community, (pp. 200-201)

¹²Douglas Olney reports (Hendricks, 1986, p. 183) that "In the United States, the Hmong birth rate continues to be high, just as it was in the refugee camps. The rate is about 50 per 1000; this may be compared to the overall rate in the United States of 15.9 per 1000."

Another study conducted in 1988 about the adaptation of Southeast Asian refugee youth was funded by the Office of Refugee Resettlement (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Family Support Administration) and conducted by Ruben Rumbaut and Kenji Ima of the Department of Sociology, San Diego State University. It is a local community study (San Diego, California) of the adaptation and social and academic adjustment and achievement of "refugee youth from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos" (p. x). This study will be reviewed quite closely here as context for more fully understanding the comments made later in the dissertation (Chapter 4) about the Hmong by members of the receiving community as described in the experiential texts. The Rumbaut/Ima study is also important for the insight it provides into the interface between Hmong and American cultures.

Rumbaut and Ima (1988) estimate that "half of all Southeast Asians in the U.S. are under 18 years of age" (p. 3).

The presence of so many school-age children is being felt most noticeably in the school systems of those U.S. communities where sizeable numbers of Southeast Asian newcomers have been resettled. These facts on the youthful character of this population suggest that the future, and more specifically the near-term future, of these refugee groups will be increasingly dependent on the role of youth, and on the nature of their educational and occupational adaptation, (p. 3)

Because the economic self-sufficiency of the refugee community will depend on the youth, the study was designed to assess the preparedness of the youth to "seek education and jobs in the American context" (p. 3). The authors examine several minority groups, but this summary will review only the conclusions they draw about the Hmong.

Some characteristics of the San Diego Hmong students and their families, as reported by Rumbaut and Ima (1988) are that "nearly half of the Hmong arrived in 1980, the peak year of refugee resettlement in U.S. history" (p. 24), 83% of Hmong students lived in intact families with both parents in the home; the average of pre-migration parental education for the Hmong was "just above a first-grade education" (p. 24), and about 90% of the Hmong were from rural backgrounds. The Hmong

reflect the highest levels of unemployment [among the Southeast Asian groups studied]—as well as the highest levels of poverty and welfare dependency, and by far the largest families. Indeed, the economic situation of these recently arrived refugees, while slowly improving over time, is severe.... Their children attending San Diego schools are, by and large, children of poverty, (p. 25)

The grade point averages and academic achievement of the Hmong students, however, was the most surprising finding of the study, according to Rumbaut and Ima (1988).

40.4% of Hmong students had GPAs above 3.0—a higher proportion than any other student group, outperforming majority white Americans as well as Filipinos, Hispanics and Blacks. Not only that, but the Hmong had a smaller proportion of students with GPAs below 2.0 than any other student group in the city, including "Asians" and Vietnamese, (p. 29)

The researchers had originally hypothesized that social class differences would be the determining factors in educational achievement and adaptation, but the findings about the Hmong and other groups caused them to look instead to "cultural and structural patterns of family organization, and culturally patterned coping strategies" (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 29).

An example of the effect of culture on educational achievement is that Vietnamese and Chinese girls noticeably outperformed Vietnamese and Chinese boys, "and everybody

else, for that matter" (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 30).¹³ Hmong boys, on the other hand, noticeably outperformed Hmong girls, "a difference that has been explained in our qualitative interviews as reflecting the heavy subordination and devaluation of girls in Hmong families and the expectation that girls must attend to house chores first before doing their homework and attending to their schooling" (pp. 30-31).¹⁴

Of all the minority groups studied (Pacific Islanders, Hispanic, Khmer, Black, Amerindian, Vietnamese, White, Filipino, Lao, Asian, and Hmong), the Hmong had the lowest school drop-out rate (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 53). (The order of ethnic groups listed above in this paragraph is the descending order in which the groups drop out of the San Diego schools, with the rate for Pacific Islanders being 17.1%, and the rate for

¹³In core courses alone, the GPA rankings of the groups studied are as follows: Vietnamese, 2.91; Chinese, 2.79; Hmong, 2.76; Lao, 2.55, Khmer, 2.48 (p. 32). Note the significant gap between the first three groups and the last two. Observing that social class differences do not account for these figures, the authors make this interesting comment: "The Vietnamese, Chinese and Hmong all share patriarchal extended family systems built on a Confucian cultural model that strongly emphasizes family discipline, parental authority and filial piety; by contrast, the Khmer and the Lao have common cultural roots that borrow cultural elements more from India than from China, including a similar language and alphabet, similar customs, the same form of Theravada Buddhism, and looser neolocal systems of nuclear family organization. It is possible that all of these factors, and others not mentioned here, may have some causal role in explaining the differential attainment patterns we have discovered, net of social class advantages and resources, and net of the common adaptive context in which the refugee youth must interact" (p. 29).

¹⁴Rumbaut and Ima (1988) go on to say that "Nevertheless, other evidence suggests that Hmong girls are rapidly making up the difference and catching up with Hmong boys in educational attainment measures. (One issue of concern that we have examined in our interviews and field research concerns the issue of early forced marriages in the Hmong community, and the consequences of this for the educational and occupational prospects of Hmong youth)" (p. 31).

Hmong being 4.6%.) Similarly, the Hmong have the lowest suspension rate of all the groups (p. 55).

Rumbaut and Ima (1988) also investigate and compare the incidence of juvenile delinquency among the Southeast Asian refugees. This category is defined as "those who have come in contact with the juvenile justice system as a result of formal processing by police and probation agencies for overt acts of juvenile delinquency or deviance" (p. 62). The overall finding was that the "Vietnamese and the Lao [are] more likely to commit offenses and the Hmong and the Khmer [are] the least likely to commit offenses" (p. 62).

What do the differences in distribution suggest? In conjunction with case files and impressions based on dealing with specific individuals, it is our observation that the different ethnic groups not only perceive deviant actions differently but are differently motivated and controlled by their families and communities, (p. 62)

The authors say the Hmong have high levels of social control over their children, and high levels of self-discipline that emanates from parental demands. Hmong students are preoccupied with doing their assignments "right" and do not hesitate to ask many detailed questions about how to do their assignments. "Theirs is a concretized approach not heavily dependent upon abstract explanations" (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 81). Hmong students are exceptionally compliant with their teachers. In standardized achievement tests they rank well above the American national average in math computation and at national norms in math applications and language mechanics. They rate low in standardized tests for reading, vocabulary, reading comprehension, and language expression. Hmong students are "extraordinarily responsive to authority, and

once told what to do they will carry out their projects without complaint, contrary to the recalcitrance shown by other students" (p. 82).

Hmong elementary school students, according to Rumbaut and Ima (1988), are "quiet, serious, task-oriented, diligent, extremely attentive to the teacher and respectful of rules and authority" (p. 82). These characteristics are already learned and present by the first and second grades, "suggesting the importance of early childhood development for later educational achievement and reflecting something of the dynamics of how children are being formed in particular family organizations" (p. 82). The Hmong place a special emphasis on family obligations, especially toward parents, and are acquiescent to parental demands. (The researchers provide several examples of top Hmong scholars who marry and have children while still in their teens to satisfy their parents' demands.)

Up through high school, the Hmong are highly disciplined and achieve good marks: they have high GPAs, low dropout rates, low suspension rates, and low juvenile delinquency rates. "Yet it is also clear from our ethnographic research that, beyond secondary schooling, the Hmong are not succeeding" (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 82), and there are relatively few Hmong in the local colleges and universities in the San Diego area.

"The Hmong community, among all of the refugee groups, appears to be the most successful in retaining its traditional forms of organization, including family and clan" (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 87). The theme of parental control is of great importance to them. "We [Hmong] parents must be strong about our children. If they do wrong, we

punish them by hitting them or by not giving them favors. We don't make empty threats. The children know what is right and what is wrong" (p. 88).

Rumbaut and Ima (1988) observe that some Hmong have run into trouble with child abuse laws in the United States, but they are still adamant about their right to control their children. When they feel that their control is undermined or threatened, it causes great anxiety and fear. When Hmong parents have trouble controlling their children, they confer with other family members and/or their clan elders. If children are acting in ways that the clan or family members do not find acceptable, the parents are pressured to control their children.

Thus the Hmong build a solid wall of control that contains and constrains Hmong youths, who cannot escape it. In sum, the Hmong community through family and clan claims responsibility for all its youth and, as a collectivity, closes ranks around the rights of parents and adults to control youngsters, (p. 88)

Rumbaut and Ima (1988) conclude that the same autocratic family discipline that is responsible for the high patterns of achievement in school also has dysfunctional consequences. "For example, we have found that early marriages among the Hmong are not so much a function of cultural desirability per se but rather of the politics of parental control" (p. 89). They agree with one Hmong's assessment that among the Hmong there is a "tragic waste of talent" (p. 89) due to coerced early marriages that force Hmong students to drop out of school and to remain on welfare, the lack of Hmong college-level role models, an inferiority complex that causes Hmong college students to drop out early (especially when they haven't coped well with the greater freedom of the less structured

college environment), and a tendency toward short-term rather than long-term planning (p. 89).

With regard to career planning, the Hmong know few people who have an "urban-based career" (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 108). They rely on actual experience in occupational selection and have little sense of occupational options beyond their own experience (p. 110). They are less concerned than the other groups with issues of job status or personal satisfaction, and focus instead on "concrete issues such as whether or not the career is accessible and will bring home enough money to support one's family" (p. 110).

Rumbaut and Ima (1988) say the Hmong are not concerned about public recognition for their achievements, that they are more "inwardly oriented and stoic in manner" (p. 112), and that they prefer to remain isolated from outsiders. Hmong students are described as "polite, thoughtful in their expression of gratitude to teachers, shy, lacking in self-confidence, and not assertive in class" (p. 112). These traits are seen as liabilities for success in education and employment.

The researchers report that in general the Hmong do not reflect a flexible development of bicultural strategies (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 115) but that achievement oriented and self-reliant adaptive strategies are more prevalent among Hmong males when not "dominated by their father or ranking male in the family" (p. 116). This strong social control within the family/clan is seen by these researchers as the main obstacle to successful Hmong adjustment in the United States.

Rumbaut and Ima (1988) forecast that the Hmong will continue to move to California's central valley where the long-term opportunities are restricted but where housing is cheaper and agriculture is an employment option, "thus trading immediate short-term gains for the family at the expense of long-term costs for their children" (p. 129), and will continue to rely on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, MediCal and Food Stamps "as a rational short-term solution, albeit one which may only reproduce the same problems in the long-term" (p. 129).

Studies of the Hmong in the Central Valley

As mentioned previously, the Office of Refugee Resettlement, U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, conducted several site reports about Hmong resettlement. The report of the site study for the Fresno area is entitled The Hmong Resettlement Study Site Report: Fresno, California (1984). The Fresno report describes the geographical, political, and economic context within which the Hmong were living in Fresno in 1984; the local Hmong population and the history of their settlement in Fresno; and resettlement issues such as language difficulties, lack of job skills, welfare dependency, adult ESL programs, early marriage and pregnancy, and discrimination.

The researchers note that the Hmong in 1984 felt they were discriminated against in the job setting, that they were denied jobs in favor of other minorities, or that they were the first to be laid off, but they note further that specific incidents of "discrimination in hiring, lay offs, or promotions are difficult to verify" (The Hmong Resettlement Study

Site Report: Fresno, California, 1984, p. 30). The Hmong were reportedly hesitant to complain publicly

because they do not wish to appear ungrateful for the assistance they have received in resettling in the United States. But as time passes and their problems have remained unsolved, and refugee assistance programs are increasingly cut, and prejudice persists, deeply felt grievances are increasingly coming to the surface, (p. 55)

The Hmong believed strongly that the United States had broken its promise to them; that the government involved their people increasingly in the war, with explicit promises that they would be taken care of if the war were won by the Pathet Lao. They believed that the government had deserted them, that they had been denied formal education because of their involvement in the war most of their lives, and that the American people did not understand them or why they came here (The Hmong Resettlement Study Site Report: Fresno, California, 1984, p. 55).

As part of the site report, the researchers gathered and translated several letters from Hmong individuals that expressed their feelings about their experiences in America. The following paragraph is an example of Hmong sentiments that were expressed in those letters.

It seems that it is very difficult for the government to handle our new lives, it seems that the American citizens hate us; for example, welfare always says that they will cut our daily assistance, Americans always complain that we compete for their jobs in the company, employers never gave us permanent jobs, it seems that everyone tries to push us to the death corner. I would like to say a word to the American citizens that, we came here because there was no peace and freedom in our country, because the result of the war brought us not peace and freedom but Communists and death, (p. 56)

One significant section of the Fresno Site Report discusses community receptiveness to refugees. It states that in 1984, "negative reactions towards Hmong and other refugees are increasing" (The Hmong Resettlement Study Site Report: Fresno, California, 1984, pp. 13-14). The report attributes this in part to a slowing economy, rising unemployment, and vast increase in the number of refugees.

The site report authors do not clearly describe community receptiveness but offer the observation that there seemed to be a different reaction from different segments of the population. Nevertheless, the statement is made that "the community, in general, has responded favorably" and that "although church groups and the private sector were slow to get involved at first, they are starting to come around" (p. 14).

Some observers expressed that the greatest hostility toward the Hmong came from other minorities who resented the attention and services provided to the newcomers and that there were also hostile reactions from some members of the community at large because of the large drain on welfare funds caused by the influx of the refugees.

The Hmong themselves were reluctant to complain about their reception because "they know full well the political (and economic) liabilities of appearing ungrateful to Americans" (The Hmong Resettlement Study Site Report: Fresno, California, 1984, p. 15). When they do reveal their thoughts about their reception, however, they talk about the routine "prejudice, discrimination, physical and psychological violence" (p. 15) to which they are subject.

The report is specifically critical of the reception of the Hmong by the Fresno police force, which it describes in terms of "indifference" and "misbehavior" (The Hmong

Resettlement Study Site Report: Fresno, California, 1984, p. 17). It is reported that no attempt had been made to have a Hmong-speaking worker on the police force and that the English-speaking Hmong community leader who had volunteered to work with police on all Hmong-related cases was not being consulted. The report concludes, with regard to community receptiveness, that there is a "sizeable and growing problem in community relations" (The Hmong Resettlement Study Site Report: Fresno, California, 1984, p. 16) and that the Hmong perception of being negatively received was having a profound impact on them. "These perceptions and the negative feelings that go along with them, are as critical a part of the 'resettlement context' as the climate, the local unemployment rate, and the services available" (p. 17).

The final study of the Hmong to be reviewed here is a chapter by Louisa Schein entitled "Control of Contrast: Lao Hmong Refugees in American Contexts" from People in Upheaval (1987). This essay takes the position that the Hmong present a certain image to their hosts as an adaptive strategy and that their image and societal position are constructed by the joint interaction between the immigrants and their hosts. This article, like the site report above, is of special interest because it focuses specifically on the Hmong in the San Joaquin Valley. Additionally, it focuses specifically on the point of interface between the Hmong and the American host culture.

Schein (1987) describes the initial host reaction to Hmong immigrants as one of "great affection for those they met" (p. 93). She says this response results from "interactions that operate according to cultural stereotypes and asymmetrical power positions" (p. 94). It is Schein's position that the Hmong had a long history in their own

country of being minorities and of dealing with non-Hmong and therefore had a ready strategy for such dealings that emphasized differentiation between themselves and others. This differentiation includes postures of deference and self-subordination toward dominant Americans and the management of symbols to distinguish themselves from "other Asian-Americans and even from other Southeast Asian refugees" (p. 95). Although the Hmong are a greatly heterogeneous group, such group positioning required that they present a homogenous group image.

Hmong have their own style of discourse, in which their position vis-a-vis their hosts is conveyed orally. I have at times encountered it upon first meeting with refugees who regard me as a potential benefactor. It translates roughly as follows: "We Hmong people are very poor. Since we came to this country, we don't know how to speak. We don't know the way to go. We don't know the way of working. We miss our country, where everything's free. Can you help our people?" (Schein, p. 96)

Schein (1987) goes on to describe a process of the mutual creation of a complementary relationship between the Hmong and the American hosts through a process of distortion. The Hmong elaborated their dependent personalities for purposes of social tolerance and economic security, and the "members of the receiving society, by maintaining their parent-like cultural ascendancy, gained a stronger sense of self and also found a range of economic opportunities in social services and planning. American hosts derived from the presence of Hmong supplicants a special vitality and experience of identity" (p. 96). Schein argues, however, that despite this conscious posturing on the part of the Hmong, "they emphasize their dependence and innocence to obtain help and at the same time resent the terms on which help is forthcoming" (p. 97).

Schein (1987) says the Hmong moved to the Central Valley because of perceived agricultural opportunities, the climate, availability of public assistance, and for purposes of family and group reunification. She says that large numbers of Hmong in one area make insularity an attractive alternative to full integration in American society and that Hmong social insularity allows a desirable "exaggeration of cultural differences" (p. 99).

Despite the Hmong "impression management to convey outward acquiescence to a subordinate position" (p. 100), Schein says the Hmong have a different agenda among themselves.

... they would maintain that their status as political refugees coupled with the "unique" challenge they face in cultural adjustment exonerates them from moral responsibility in continuing to receive aid, at the same time that they join together in efforts toward economic independence and regaining a sense of dignity. (Schein, 1987, p. 100)

Schein (1987) says the posture of deference "takes its toll since it implies acquiescence to a position of powerlessness not consonant with Hmong aims at self-determination" (p. 103). Nevertheless, she says the Hmong consciously use their culture as an argument for "the rationalization of ongoing reliance on external aid" and that "media, scholarly and government reports, as well as other modes of discourse became the forum for the expression and consolidation of cultural differences" (p. 103).

Schein (1987) concludes by stressing that the Hmong must be understood in their diversity rather than in their homogeneity and that Hmong deference to the receiving culture is an external, compartmentalized, and token activity played out in the presence of the hosts "while a sense of greater self-determination can be achieved internally among co-ethnics" (p. 104).

CHAPTER 3

MEDIA FRAMES OF THE HMONG

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, Vincent Price (1988) says the study of the public opinion process requires decomposing the process analytically into (a) individual levels of thought and action and (b) the communication context within which this thought and action takes place (p. 667). Thus, although the focus of this case study is primarily on the individual in the opinion-formation process, the communication context within which the process took place must also be described.

Chapter 2 has illuminated some of the social and historical context of the social action under study, and this chapter, through an examination of media texts, will shed light on the broader discursive context within which individual-level discourse occurred and public opinion about the Hmong emerged.

Newspaper Text

The newspaper text is comprised of 16 articles from The Fresno Bee. Full citations for all 16 articles, together with information about article headlines, authors, and illustrations, are summarized in Table 3.1. (See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the selection and description of the newspaper text.)

Table 3.1

Full Citations for The Fresno Bee

Articles in Newspaper Text

<p>ARTICLE #1 Saturday, August 16, 1986 Page: E3 Section: Business Illustration: Photo Source: Shirley Ambruster Headline: Hmong Women Are In Business; Big Market For Their Handiwork</p>	<p>ARTICLE #5 Sunday, July 3, 1988 Page: B1 Section: Metro Source: Audrie Krause Headline: Sudden Deaths Of Refugees Declining; But Most Recent Occurred In San Joaquin Valley</p>
<p>ARTICLE #2 Sunday, December 28, 1986 Page: B1 Section: Metro Source: Alex Pulaski Headline: Teachers Who Speak SE Asian Languages Desperately Needed</p>	<p>ARTICLE #6 Sunday, December 11, 1988 Page: A1 Section: Metro Illustration: Photo Source: Scott Reeves Headline: Translators Aid Treatment At Hospitals; Both The Medical Staff, Patients Gain From Insight Of Interpreters</p>
<p>ARTICLE #3 Monday, January 5, 1987 Page: B1 Section: Metro Source: Amy Pyle Headline: Southeast Asian Groups Are At Odds</p>	<p>ARTICLE #7 Sunday, July 2, 1989 Page: H1 Section: Telegraph Illustration: Drawing Source: Vicki Espinosa Hanson Headline: Volunteer Suddenly An Alien In All Worlds</p>
<p>ARTICLE #4 Sunday, March 8, 1987 Page: A1 Section: Telegraph Illustration: Photo Source: Amy Pyle Headline: Confined Without A Country; Waiting In Thailand In Hmong Refugee Camp, Fresno Means New Life</p>	<p>ARTICLE #8 Sunday, July 23, 1989 Page: A8 Section: Telegraph Illustration: Photo Source: Royal Calkins Headline: Vang Pao And The CIA: A Warrior's Rise To Power</p>

Table 3.1 - Continued

<p>ARTICLE #9 Sunday, July 23, 1989 Page: A1 Section: Metro Illustration: Photo/Map Source: Royal Calkins and Denice A. Rios Headline: Refugee Leader Fuels A Futile Dream</p>	<p>ARTICLE #13 Sunday, January 28, 1990 Page: D1 Section: AG Sunday Illustration: 2 Photo Source: Lisa Crumrine Headline: A Tough Row To Hoe; SE Asian Farmers Struggling</p>
<p>ARTICLE #10 Monday, July 24, 1989 Page: A1 Section: Metro Illustration: Photo Source: Denice A. Rios Headline: Barriers Keep Hmong In Culture Trap</p>	<p>ARTICLE #14 Sunday, February 11, 1990 Page: A1 Section: Telegraph Illustration: 5 Photo Source: Alex Pulaski Headline: Bound For The Spirit World; Hmong Healers In U.S.: A Cultural Clash</p>
<p>ARTICLE #11 Monday, July 24, 1989 Page: A1 Section: Metro Illustration: Photo/Map Source: Royal Calkins and Denice A. Rios Headline: Refugees Wait In Vain To Return Home; Hmong Of Banning Live Hand-To-Mouth Existence</p>	<p>ARTICLE #15 Monday, July 2, 1990 Page: A1 Section: Telegraph Illustration: 2 Photo Source: Alex Pulaski Headline: New Home, New Hardships; Hmong Seeking Solutions. Job Plan Could Improve Future</p>
<p>ARTICLE #12 Monday, August 7, 1989 Page: A9 Section: Lifestyle Illustration: Photo Source: Sandra Tompkins Headline: Bound By Love; Learn U.S. Ways, Get Involved, Experts Urge</p>	<p>ARTICLE #16 Sunday, March 10, 1991 Page: A1 Section: Telegraph Illustration: 2 Photo Map Source: Alex Pulaski Headline: Tenants Say They're Victims Of An Uncaring Landlord; Despair And Disrepair</p>

There were two long articles in each of the years 1986, 1987, and 1988. In 1989, there were six. Of these six 1989 articles, however, four were part of a 2-day special section based on intensive investigative reporting about the Hmong in general and about Hmong leader General Vang Pao in particular. There were three long articles in 1990 and one in 1991. The analysis of these articles will be structured around an examination of the portions of the articles identified by Tankard et al. (1991) as "framing mechanisms," or sites at which newspaper frames emerge.

A frame, as defined by Tankard et al., is "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (1991, p. 5). Tankard et al. suggest that analysis of framing mechanisms, or points at which frames can be identified and examined, provides structure for their identification and evidence of their having been identified correctly. This approach makes explicit the textual materials from which frames are identified, thus making them available to other readers and allowing readers to assess the validity of the claims made by the researcher.

The points in the newspaper text at which frames of the Hmong are examined in this study are the sources, headlines, photo captions, leads, concluding statements/paragraphs, statistical/numerical information, and quotations. The methodology for examining the framing mechanisms has been operationalized by producing appendices for each framing mechanism, and by actually quoting everything within the newspaper articles that appears and qualifies under each specific framing category. For example, every direct quotation (as indicated by the presence of quotation marks) within the articles

has been transcribed in Appendix F. All appendices indicate the articles from which the information was taken. This approach allows the reader to access the framing mechanisms for each individual article, and also to see the breadth of frames under each mechanism from all of the articles taken together.

This section will thus describe the "symbolic world" (Carragee, p. 5) constructed by the Bee in its coverage of the Hmong through an analysis of the appendices that have been derived from a close reading of the newspaper text.

The analysis begins with a discussion of the news sources to which each of the articles makes reference.

Selection of Sources

Appendix A lists every source referenced in each article. The appendix illustrates that the articles in this newspaper text draw heavily on a broad spectrum of community voices and that they are artifacts of communitywide discourse about the Hmong.

The lists of sources and sites at which discourse occurred (such as governmental agencies, educational organizations, social service agencies, hospitals, and personal conversations) illustrate Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) assertion that parallel discourses about an issue will occur throughout a community.

To get a more definitive sense of the kinds of news sources and community voices that are represented in the newspaper text, Appendix A also assigns each of the sources to the categories of Hmong vs. non-Hmong and institutional vs. individual. These categorizations are summarized for all of the 16 articles taken together in Appendix B. The majority of sources in the newspaper text are shown by this analysis to be

non-Hmong and institutional as opposed to Hmong and individual, indicating that the discourse reflected in these Bee articles is predominantly that of the receiving community (non-Hmong) and of community spokespersons, leaders and governmental agencies (institutions). Further, whereas the receiving community is represented almost entirely by institutional voices, the Hmong community is represented almost entirely by individual Hmong voices.

Significant differences in the mix of sources are apparent among individual articles. Article #3 attributions, for example, are entirely institutional with only one Hmong source, whereas Article #11 attributions are more than 2-to-1 individual and Hmong sources. Two positions or poles on a conceptual continuum emerge in these articles. One pole represents articles about the Hmong that emphasize issues of specific centrality and importance to the Hmong community itself and that rely on or stress Hmong sources; the other represents articles about the Hmong that emphasize issues of specific importance to the receiving community and that rely on or stress non-Hmong sources. Several of the articles fall within the more central position of exploring a topic from both points of view or of discussing issues of interest to both cultures. In these cases, discussions are more balanced, as are references to both Hmong and non-Hmong sources (see Appendix B).

Article #2 is an example of articles on one end of the continuum that focus on Hmong impact on the receiving culture, and in which the attributions are highly non-Hmong and institutional. This is an article about the "desperate" need in the Fresno area for teachers who speak Southeast Asian languages. Of the 12 sources for the article,

there are only two individual Hmong sources (two Hmong college students who want to be teachers), and one institutional Hmong source (the Executive Director of Lao Family Community, Inc.). All of the remaining sources for this article are institutional and non-Hmong.

In contrast, Article #9 is an example of articles on the other end of the continuum that focus on issues related to internal Hmong cultural issues that have a higher incidence of Hmong and individual sources and that present the story from a Hmong point of view. Article #9 is about the internal workings of General Vang Pao's Neo Horn revolutionary movement and its financial and social impact on Hmong individuals and families. It cites several more Hmong than non-Hmong sources and nearly an even number of institutional to individual sources. A similar relationship of high Hmong/high individual sources for articles that focus on Hmong internal interests exists in Article #11 about Hmong refugees who are living a hand-to-mouth existence and waiting in vain to return to their homeland and in Article #14 about the culture clash of Hmong (shamanistic) medical practices with those of the receiving community.

Even in those articles in which there are multiple references to Hmong sources, however, the weight of the discursive influence, and thus of the ways in which the Hmong are framed in the newspaper text, is to the American viewpoint. This is due to the weight and authority of the institutional American voice as opposed to the inherently weaker individual Hmong voice and to the greater proportional reliance on sources expressing the institutional voice of the receiving community.

In addition to identifying the point of view from which the Hmong are framed in the newspaper text, the selection of sources mechanism (Appendix A) is also illustrative of the cross currents of conversation and discourse about the Hmong that reached throughout the Fresno area in both the Hmong and non-Hmong communities and of the ways in which those conversations converged in the newspaper text. The lists of sources reveal the parallel institutional, professional, and personal discourses that occurred within the community as well as the wide discursive context within which individual-level discourse and opinion formation occurred.

Headlines

Inasmuch as headlines are succinct and direct, a review of headlines in the 16 articles of the newspaper text taken together (Table 3.1 above) rather quickly provides an understanding of the symbols and images by which the Bee framed the Hmong in this framing mechanism. The choice of words and phrases in the headlines fairly jump out to produce images of desperation (A#2, A#16); need (A#2); confrontation (A#3); confinement (A#4); death (A#5); alienation (A#7); cultural entrapment (A#10); futility (A#11); hardship (A#11); struggle (A#13); despair (A#16); and victimization (A#16). The only positive or hopeful images in the headlines are those in Article #1 which speaks of a big market for Hmong handicrafts, and Article #15 which suggests the Hmong are seeking for solutions in a job plan that could improve their future.

*A#1, A#2, etc. refer to Articles #1, Article #2, etc. in the newspaper text. See Table 3.1.

Photo Captions

The photo captions are less succinct than the headlines (see Appendix C). They provide more information and build on the images created by the choice of words in the headlines. Also, the captions provide verbal cues about the action depicted in the photographs, which are not included in this study because of their unavailability in the VU/TEXT format. (See discussion of VU/TEXT in Chapter 1.)

The photo captions verbally describe the following: Hmong handicrafts (A#1), the lack of plumbing and the stagnant bathing water in a Hmong refugee camp (A#4), the death of a child in a refugee camp (A#4), a Hmong translator with a Hmong patient in a Fresno hospital (A#6), General Vang Pao with a student military group at a Hmong New Year celebration in Fresno (A#8), the clash of old and new cultures (A#9), a map of the Hmong homeland (A#9), the difficulty of acculturation for elderly Hmong in America (A#10), the Hmong resistance movement in Laos (A#11); Hmong agricultural pursuits in America (A#13), graphic shamanistic (and animistic) religious practices (A#14), Hmong lack of job skills and English proficiency (A#15), the great obstacles faced by the Hmong in America (A#15), and the poor and dangerous living conditions of Hmong families in Fresno (A#16). (There are no photos or captions in Articles #2, #3, #5, and #7. The photo caption in Article #12 simply lists the four American experts quoted in the article.)

As with the headlines, the photo captions depict the Hmong in somber tones and in conditions of stress and squalor. The relatively long and graphic descriptions of Hmong shamanistic rituals in the photo captions in Article #14 are revealing of the

practices themselves as well as of the vast cultural differences between Hmong beliefs and those of the receiving community. They have the effect of framing the Hmong world view as primitive and naive.

Leads

The leads from the 16 articles in the newspaper text are listed in Appendix D. The leads depict the following: the success of the Hmong handicraft industry (A#1), the lack of teachers in the Fresno schools who can communicate with Hmong children (A#2), the statistic that at least half the pupils in some schools in Fresno are Asian (A#2), the conflict between Southeast Asian ethnic groups (A#3), the crowded living conditions in a Hmong refugee camp in Thailand (A#4), the information that this refugee camp in Thailand is the only city in the world with more Hmong than Fresno (A#4), the sound of a Hmong medicine man's drum signaling death (A#4), the occurrence of sudden unexpected death syndrome among the Hmong in the San Joaquin Valley (A#5), the need for translators in hospitals to communicate with non-English speaking patients (A#6), the painful experience of being a newcomer (A#7), the power of a corrupt Hmong leader (A#8), the betrayal and victimization of the Hmong by both the American government and Hmong leaders (A#9), the alarming numbers of Hmong on welfare (A#10), the Hmong desire to return to their homeland (A#11), their victimization as peas in Gen. Vang Pao's shell game (A#11), the social difficulties Hmong children are having in school (A#12), the difficulties experienced by Hmong farmers (A#13), Hmong shamanistic religious practices (A#14), plans by Hmong leadership to get the Hmong off public assistance (A#15), and landlord neglect of Hmong housing units (A#16).

Taken together, these leads create a symbolic world about the Hmong that portrays their existence as difficult, imperiled, sad, and in many ways alien to the American host culture. The leads also raise issues, such as Hmong welfare-dependency and reliance on governmental and institutional resources, that could be of deep concern to the receiving culture and that could be read by members of the receiving culture to frame the Hmong as a burden on society.

Concluding Statements

The concluding statements of all 16 articles have been juxtaposed with the leads in Appendix D to provide a sense of continuity between the beginnings and endings of the articles in the newspaper text.

The concluding statements are more complex than the leads because they contain multiple and often more subtle frames. For example, the concluding paragraph in Article #1 describes the success of Hmong women in preserving their culture through their arts. This provides a rare frame of success for the Hmong (as compared to the other articles) and also conveys that this rare success is being accomplished by Hmong women (as opposed to men). This concluding paragraph also says that the Hmong are "a people who befriended the American military during the Vietnam War and then were forced to flee Communist persecution after the fall of Saigon," thus framing the Hmong as a people deserving and worthy of American help.

A multiple frame is also apparent in the conclusion of Article #2, which expresses positive images in the desire of some Hmong to become teachers, together with the negative expression of their perceptions of having experienced discrimination in their

efforts to achieve that goal. This latter image might function to evoke empathy, whereas the former might function to evoke admiration.

The concluding statement of Article #3 (which discusses the broader Southeast Asian community, and not just the Hmong) expresses both the disaffection of the Vietnamese Association from the other Southeast Asians, and the need for the involvement of county social workers to mediate in the affairs of the Southeast Asians. The latter idea conveys the economic and social strain the presence of the Southeast Asians has put on the receiving society.

Article #4 depicts death in a Thai refugee camp, the ways in which the Hmong mourn death, the desire of a Hmong camp resident to come to America, and the familial ties between residents of the camp and the Hmong in Fresno. This latter frame conveys the lingering relationship between the Fresno Hmong and their homeland. The reference to the refugee camp frames the Hmong as refugees (rather than immigrants) who have come to Fresno from dire circumstances.

The conclusion of Article #5 dispenses advice to Hmong refugees about how to prepare American rice, but it functions also to show the extensive efforts that have been required on the part of American government agencies to help the refugees adapt to their new environment. Like Article #3, the conclusion conveys the costly impact of the Hmong on public resources.

Article #7's concluding statement implies that to be a refugee is to be truly displaced. This frames the immigrants in the Fresno area as displaced persons who are deserving of sympathy. It also provides the newcomers with the label of "refugee" as

opposed to "immigrant." This is an important distinction and frame because, as noted above, the term "refugee" connotes victimization and repression, whereas the term "immigrant" connotes freedom and choice.

The concluding statement of Article #8, which describes CIA involvement in Southeast Asian affairs and implies that the United States government was somehow involved in the drug trade in that area, does not necessarily frame the Hmong in the Fresno area in any way other than to associate them with exotic and perhaps distasteful social practices, but it does serve to associate the presence of the Hmong in America with perhaps inappropriate and victimizing American government activities in their part of the world.

The concluding statement of Article #9 depicts the ongoing effects of the Vietnam War on the Hmong, while simultaneously making an editorial statement (couched in a quote from a source) that General Vang Pao's resistance movement is morally wrong and that the Hmong people need to move beyond the war. This frames the Hmong within the event of the Vietnam War and suggests that their social progress is somehow stuck in that event and in their ties to the past.

Article #10 concludes with depictions of the difficulty for the Hmong of the acculturation process and of learning English, and #11 concludes by conveying a frame of the Hmong as reluctant refugees who desire to return to their home.

Article #12 concludes with descriptions of the trouble Hmong teenagers are experiencing in adapting to the American environment; and #13 ends with the expressed

desire of Hmong parents that their children will not have to be farmers, like themselves, to earn their livelihoods.

Article #14 concludes by communicating the depth of one Hmong father's aversion to American medical practices and his belief in and commitment to shamanism. This frame depicts the Hmong as a people who are committed to primitive beliefs and practices that are alien to the host culture. It may also frame the Hmong as innocents who are deserving of sympathy or empathy.

Article #15 concludes with an expression of the obstacles facing the Hmong in earning a living, and the hope that new economic programs can help them find employment.

Finally, the last article concludes with the ironic suggestion it is a sign of progress (both in terms of learning to negotiate the American system and in terms of Hmong living conditions) that the Hmong now call the health department when their apartment swimming pool turns green. The multiple frames here depict how difficult it is for the Hmong to interface with American bureaucracy, what substandard conditions they live in, and how there has been some progress in their adaptation process.

Numerical Information

All statistical and numerical information included in each of the articles is transcribed in Appendix E. The sentences in which the numerical information is given are also largely preserved in Appendix E to allow a sense of the tone and the use of language in the articles and to provide enough context for the numbers and statistics to have meaning. A review of this appendix supports the contention by Tankard et al.

(1991) that statistics are a key point at which frames can be identified. For some of the articles, this sole source of information would be adequate as a stand-alone tool with which to identify the ways in which the Hmong are framed by the Bee. As will be noted below, however, some important frames present in the articles as a whole do not arise from the reading of the statistics alone, thus illustrating the importance of consulting more than one framing mechanism in drawing conclusions about media frames.

The statistics in Article #1 describe a successful handicraft business. This frame of success is an important one, especially in the context of the images of Hmong economic struggle that are in the other framing mechanisms in this particular newspaper text.

The statistics in Article #2 convey three concepts: that large numbers of Southeast Asians have accumulated in the Fresno area, that their educational needs are not being met by the Fresno area schools, and that their presence requires vast additional community resources to meet their needs.

Article #3 statistics substantiate that the Hmong are welfare-dependent; even more so than other Southeast Asian immigrant groups.

The statistics in Article #4 create a symbolic world of the Hmong in the Ban Vinai refugee camp in Thailand from which many Fresno Hmong emigrated. Circumstances and conditions of life in Ban Vinai are depicted by the statistics as truly dreadful—overcrowding, squalor, disease, and death. The overall frame that arises from the statistical/numerical information is one of desperation and victimization; it conveys the hardships that the Fresno area Hmong endured before coming to America. Worth noting

here is that although this image is the central frame for the article in its entirety, the statistics chart alone does not provide the understanding that is stressed in the text of the article about the familial and emotional ties that continue to exist between these camp internees and their relatives who have emigrated to the Fresno area. Frames of these emotional ties to the homeland do arise, however, in other framing mechanisms for this article such as quotes and concluding statements.

Article #5 statistics describe the mysterious death to which Hmong in America and in refugee camps are subject, thus creating another image of lamentable victimization-this time at the hands of mother nature.

Article #6 statistics elucidate the need for hospitals to hire translators to meet immigrant medical needs, thus implying the drain on community resources caused by the presence of these and other immigrants.

Statistics in Article #8² provide a frame not of ordinary Hmong immigrants, but of the Hmong leader General Vang Pao. Even these brief entries imply that Pao set himself apart from his followers for his own economic benefit.

The statistics in Article #9 are especially rich in framing images of the Hmong. For example, the Hmong are in exile in America, 50,000 of them (10% of their population) were killed in the Vietnam War, there are 26,000 of them in Fresno County (the largest settlement outside of Southeast Asia), they come from a primitive society which developed a written language only 40 years ago, and the U.S. federal government spends \$200 million annually on welfare and other programs for the Hmong.

²No statistical/numerical information is provided in Articles #7, #12, and #14.

These particular frames taken together depict primitive Hmong origins, tremendous personal and group loss in America's war, and heavy Hmong demands on American financial resources. Another important frame also arises from the statistics in Article #9. This is the image of poor, welfare-dependent Hmong immigrants who take a portion of their meager resources every month to donate money to the Neo Horn (the Hmong resistance movement in Laos). This frame elucidates Hmong emotional ties to the homeland, their desires to return, and their personal sacrifice in contributing to the Neo Horn.

The remaining entries in Article #9 statistics perhaps need more supporting information from the full text of the article to flesh out the frame that the Hmong have been tricked and victimized by their own leader, General Vang Pao, that they are encouraged (even threatened) into making contributions from the depths of their poverty to a useless and perhaps even nonexistent resistance movement that they are lead to believe is making headway in their homeland.

The juxtaposition of the final two entries in the statistics appendix for Article #9 makes the frames arising from each entry especially poignant and ironic. One entry says that "80 percent of the refugees in the U.S. regularly pay Neo Horn because of their disenchantment with the United States." The next entry says that "the federal government spends \$200 million annually on welfare and other programs for the Hmong." These statistical/numerical entries taken together create the frame of Hmong dissatisfaction with their new lives in America, despite American taxpayers' heavy subsidization of that life.

The statistics in Article #10 describe extremely high Hmong welfare-dependency and lack of educational background, the rapid influx of large numbers of Hmong into the Fresno area, their high unemployment rate, and the expenditure of federal resources to meet Hmong needs.

The statistics in Article #11 focus on General Vang Pao's Neo Horn resistance movement—its sources of income and its business dealings. The tone of the statistics, taken together, conveys corruption in the movement, as well as the sense that the Hmong believe that they are in exile in America. This latter frame is reinforced by the last entry that relays the information that despite the deplorable conditions in the Ban Vinai refugee camp in Thailand, the camp that served as the holding tank for many of the Hmong who emigrated to America, only 300 of the 7,000 who were eligible to emigrate in the spring of 1989 chose to resettle here. This statistic conveys in context that Hmong newcomers were dissatisfied with American circumstances and that they effectively communicated these feelings to friends and family in Thailand.

The statistics in Article #13 describe Hmong attempts at agricultural pursuits in the Fresno area and the obstacles impeding their success. The final entry, however, which forecasts that the Hmong will be "major players in the vegetable market in the next 15 to 20 years," suggests that they are making progress and that there is hope for their future.

The brief statistics in Article #15 again document the enormity of the influx of the Hmong into the Fresno area and of the impact of that influx on public resources.

Finally, the statistics in Article #16 depict the substandard conditions in which the Hmong live in Fresno, in contrast to the wealth of their American landlord who fails to

maintain the apartments in which the Hmong dwell. This is another frame of victimization.

Summary of Frames of the Hmong in the Newspaper Text

Thus far this analysis of the newspaper text has examined the frames arising from the lists of sources, headlines, photo captions, leads, concluding statements, and statistical/numerical information included in the articles. A summary of these frames appears in Table 3.2.

A narrative statement of the dominant frames and interpretive patterns identified in this review of the 16 The Fresno Bee articles can be expressed as follows: The Hmong are refugees (as opposed to merely immigrants, with all the implications implicit in the word refugee) who have settled in the Fresno area in great numbers; a people who are deserving of American help because of their involvement in the Vietnam War; a people whose lives were seriously disrupted and endangered by the war, who lived in terrible circumstances in Thai refugee camps before emigrating, and who now live in substandard conditions in America; an uneducated people who are struggling linguistically, financially, emotionally, and culturally in America and who would like to return home; a people whose religious beliefs and cultural and medical practices are shamanistic and primitive, and vastly different from those of the receiving culture; a people who have been victimized by circumstances related to their arrival here—including victimization by the American government and by their own Hmong leadership—and who are experiencing intergroup conflict with other Southeast Asian immigrants in the Fresno area; a people who are deserving of empathy, yet whose presence in the Fresno area produces difficult

Table 3.2

Summary of Frames of the Hmong
in the Newspaper Text

1. Refugees (as opposed to immigrants)
2. Great numbers have settled in Fresno
3. Deserving of American help because of Vietnam War
4. Difficult life in homeland and refugee camps (danger, disruption, miserable circumstances)
5. Living in America in substandard conditions
6. Undereducated
7. Desire to return to homeland
8. Primitive religious beliefs
9. Primitive cultural and medical practices
10. Victims of own leadership
11. Victims of American Government
12. Conflict with other Southeast Asian immigrants
13. Drain on local and federal taxes and social and institutional resources
14. Successful in handicraft sales
15. Committed to education
16. Making progress in agriculture

social issues for the receiving community, and whose needs are taxing local and federal institutions and resources. More hopeful minor frames are of Hmong interest in education, the progress they are making in agriculture, their efforts to create a job plan for Hmong workers, and the small success of Hmong women in selling their handicrafts.

This analysis of the framing mechanisms in the 16 articles in the newspaper text has shown that most of the articles develop more than one frame of the Hmong. These frames, however, do not encompass every idea or bit of information about the Hmong that appears in the articles. Many topics that are mentioned in the text of the articles do not become frames, or central organizing ideas, around which images of the Hmong are shaped. One example is the issue of discrimination against the Hmong by members of the receiving community. It is a topic that is mentioned, but it is not one of the central, organizing principles fundamental to how the Hmong are framed. Three further examples are Hmong polygamy, Hmong opium usage, and Hmong crime. All of these subjects are mentioned in the text of one or more articles but are not central to the development of the articles, are not stressed, and do not appear in the framing mechanisms. This elucidates the value of the use of the framing mechanisms identified by Tankard et al. (1991) in providing structure to the process of identifying organizing frames and in making the textual material from which frames are identified explicit. The process precludes inaccurately identifying a subtopic as a frame.

Selection of Quotes

The remaining framing mechanism to be addressed is Appendix F. Even though all of the framing mechanisms analyzed thus far have proven to be immediately fruitful

as tools in the identification of the ways in which The Fresno Bee framed the Hmong, the selection of quotes mechanism is problematic for the several reasons discussed below.

Tankard et al. (1991) were concerned that frames should not be identified by researcher fiat and that the data upon which conclusions are drawn should be made explicit. These concerns have been addressed in this chapter for each of the framing mechanisms through the use of extensive appendices that provide word-for-word transcriptions from The Fresno Bee articles under study. This approach for the selection of quotes mechanism is problematic in that the actual construction of the appendix is difficult to accomplish accurately and effectively because many of the quotations in the articles are only sentence fragments and require contextualizing in order to be understood. Also, dominant frames do not arise clearly from the quotes as they do from the other framing mechanisms. Rather, the quotations work in the newspaper text to perform three alternative functions. First, they support and emphasize the frames established in the other mechanisms. Second, they personalize the institutional voice; they put a human face on the institutional voice through the use of a spokesperson's own words and sentiments. Third, they reveal individual and personal perceptions in that they provide insight into the ways in which individuals think and speak about particular issues and people; and they express personal, anecdotal, and sometimes gossipy points of view, reactions, and feelings that do not appear as dominant frames in the other framing mechanisms, and that may even contradict the dominant frames. Specific quotations might serve one or any combination of these functions.

The selection of quotes mechanism, then, is problematic in that the quotations are not as immediately useful in identifying dominant frames as are the other framing mechanisms, and it is difficult to capture and categorize the frames that do arise from the quotations for purposes of analysis. Nevertheless, the quotations are useful in that they add color, texture, and shading to the dominant frames, and they add personal voices that do not appear in other frames.

Some examples of these functions that the quotations serve in the newspaper text are illustrated in Appendices G, H, and I. Appendix G demonstrates how the quotations support and illustrate the dominant frames that arise from the other framing mechanisms. For example, illustrative of the frame that the Hmong are having difficulty acculturating in America, the coordinator of Southeast Asian Students at Fresno State University is quoted as saying:

These kids have a real identity crisis. There's a lot of cultural pressure at home and yet they are trying to fit into the American way of living. Their own psychological progress is very chaotic and they don't have enough skill to cope with this. (Appendix G, newspaper article #12.)

Appendix H provides examples of the personalization of the institutional voice through the use of quotations. For example, the superintendent of the Fresno Unified School District is quoted as saying, "We have an asinine law. The law doesn't recognize the problem we face" (newspaper article #2).

Finally, Appendix I provides examples of how quotations from news sources are used to reveal the sources' personal perceptions and opinions. For example, the neighbor of a contributor to the Hmong resistance movement is quoted as saying, "I wish I had the

power to snap my fingers and make Vang Pao go away. He has stolen so much money from poor ignorant people. I hate him" (newspaper article #11).

One of the most helpful aspects of the selection of quotations mechanism taken as a whole (Appendix F) is that it graphically illustrates the prevalence of discourse about the Hmong throughout the Fresno community, the public and private conversations surrounding the Hmong issue, and the convergence of many of these conversations in the local newspaper. Further, they illustrate that newspaper coverage about this issue is not confined to a single unified media voice and that these articles are informed by a wide variety of discourses.

Broadcast Text

The broadcast text is available in full in two appendices. Appendix J consists of question-by-question transcriptions of the questionnaires that were completed by six broadcasters in the Fresno area, together with their responses. This appendix allows a review of all of the broadcasters' responses to each particular question. Additionally, each broadcast respondent's individual answers to the full questionnaire are available in Appendix K. In this appendix, answers that omit the questions and report only the respondents' own written answers are compiled into individual narrative texts for each broadcast respondent.

This section will analyze the broadcast text. The text has been included in the study to provide a sense of the ways in which the Hmong were discussed in the broadcast media in the Fresno area and to thus offer another glimpse (in addition to the newspaper text) of the wider discursive context within which individual discourse occurred. The

broadcast text differs from the newspaper text in that no specific artifact of broadcast news content was available for study.³ The broadcast text consists, instead, of broadcasters' recollections of the content of specific broadcast stories about the Hmong, together with their opinions about how that content framed the Hmong. The newspaper and broadcast texts do not provide directly comparable information about mass media coverage of the Hmong. Each of them, however, provides a valuable window through which to view the broader discursive environment within which public opinion took shape.

Table 3.3 charts personal profiles of all of the broadcast respondents in the broadcast text, and assigns a number to each respondent for purposes of discussion.⁴

Table 3.4 summarizes the specific stories about the Hmong that appeared in the broadcast media in the Fresno area, as reported by the broadcasters' written accounts. Although a wide variety of stories are mentioned, most are only mentioned by 1 broadcast respondent. The exceptions are that 4 respondents mention stories about Hmong gangs, Hmong crime, and Hmong fear of police; and 2 respondents mention stories about the Hmong New Year celebration.

³See discussion of the broadcast text in the Media Texts section of Chapter 1.

⁴For brevity, these broadcast respondents will be referred to throughout this discussion as BR#1, BR#2, etc. The respondents are always specifically referenced as "broadcast respondents" to differentiate them from the nonmedia study participants (introduced in Chapter 4) who are referred to simply as "respondents."

Table 3.3

Personal Profiles of Broadcast Respondents

BROADCAST RESPONDENT	MEDIUM	JOB DESCRIPTION	GENDER	AGE
#1	Radio	Program Director	Male	44
#2	Radio	Reporter/Anchor/ Assignment Director	Female	32
#3	Television	Production Assistant/ Technician	Male	24
#4	Television	News Producer	Not indicated	26
#5	Television	Director/ Announcer	Male	39
#6	Television	Reporter (General Assignment and Consumer)	Female	31

A summary narrative arising from all of the stories taken together would read as follows. The Hmong deserve American support because they fought on our side in the Vietnam War. Many of them have gathered into the Fresno valley because of agriculture and climatic similarities to home. Local governments have made efforts to try to get more federal money to cover the costs of helping these refugees. There have been difficult assimilation problems for the Hmong in the area. The Hmong are on public assistance. Several families live together to save on expenses. In order to remain on assistance, some work in the fields and do not declare their incomes. The schools are in need of bilingual teachers to teach the Hmong children. There has been a big growth

Table 3.4

Broadcast Stories About Hmong

Recalled by Broadcasters

STORY ANGLE	BROADCAST RESPONDENTS
1. Hmong deserve American support because they fought on our side in Vietnam War.	#1
2. Local government efforts to get more federal money to cover costs of helping Hmong refugees.	#2
3. New Hmong radio station meeting needs of overlooked minority.	#3
4. Series about Hmong assimilation issue (difficult assimilation problems).	#4
5. Hmong boy with club feet (corrective surgery against parents' religion).	#5
6. Hmong have gathered in Valley because of agriculture and climatic similarities to home.	#1
7. Stories about growth of Hmong crimes, Hmong gangs, and Hmong fear of police. Abo story about a Hmong murder-suicide (Hmong man killed wife/child/self due to culture shock).	#2, #3, #4, #5, #6
8. Several Hmong families living together in one small home.	#3
9. Hmong New Year celebration.	#4, #6
10. Hmong work in fields and don't declare income (to remain on public assistance).	#1
11. Need for bilingual teachers.	#2
12. Southeast Asian Council (joint effort of Hmong, Laotians, and Vietnamese).	#6

in Hmong crime and in Hmong gangs. Hmong religious beliefs have come into conflict with western medical practices. Some good things are taking place for the Hmong here: they keep their culture alive through the annual traditional celebration of the Hmong New Year, the Southeast Asian Council is working to solve some of the joint problems of the Hmong and the other Southeast Asian immigrants, and there is a new Hmong radio station that will help meet the needs of this overlooked minority.

In addition to the specific stories they could recall, broadcast respondents were asked to share their thoughts about what images and perceptions about the Hmong were projected by the broadcast stories they recalled. As Table 3.5 reflects, the three most frequently mentioned images are (a) that the Hmong are having difficulty assimilating, (b) that they are hard-working, and (c) that they are poor, underprivileged, unemployed, and welfare-dependent. Only two respondents mention Hmong crime as a projected image, which is surprising inasmuch as this topic is most frequently mentioned as a story subject (see Table 3.4).

Of note in the images/perceptions listed in Table 3.5 are the dichotomous or conflicting images—the good news/bad news about the Hmong—as projected by the broadcast media (according to these broadcasters' accounts). For example, the Hmong are lazy and yet hard working; they are helpless, uneducated, illiterate, and deserving of sympathy and yet proud, strong, and determined. They were loyal to America (and therefore deserving of help), yet they are more trouble than they are worth. These images suggest that there was a diversity of images about the Hmong, rather than a unified frame, that was circulated throughout the community by the broadcast media.

In Question #17 of the broadcast questionnaire, broadcast respondents were asked: Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmong has had any effect on public perceptions of them? Responses to this question indicate that all respondents are of the opinion that broadcast coverage has had an effect on public perceptions of the Hmong, especially where there is no personal contact with them. Broadcast respondent #1 believes, in fact, that broadcast coverage is the major creator of public perceptions, unless someone has

Table 3.5

Summary of Images/Perceptions of the Hmong

Projected by Broadcast Stories

(Appendix L, Questions 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16)

Images/Perceptions	Broadcast Respondents
1. Difficulty assimilating	#1, #4, #5
2. Poor, underprivileged, unemployed, welfare dependent	#3, #4, #6
3. Hardworking	#1, #4, #6
4. Proud, strong, determined	#3, #5
5. Sympathy for the Hmong	#2, #6
6. The Hmong use welfare assistance unfairly; overburden school system unfairly	#1, #2
7. Trying to fit in; trying to become good citizens	#3, #4
8. Hmong gangs, crime, thievery	#3, #6
9. Lazy	#3, #4
10. Loyal to America	#1
11. Hmong refugees are more trouble than they are worth	#2
12. Stupid, weak-minded, easily intimidated, helpless	#2
13. The Hmong are an overlooked minority within the community	#3
14. Uneducated	#5
15. Hmong culture is a mystery to host culture	#6
16. Farmers/field workers	#1
17. Alienated	#3
18. Do not hold life sacred	#4
19. Force and guns are what the Hmong understand	#5
20. Family-oriented	#1
21. Hmong youth excelling	#2
22. Illiterate	#1
23. Primitive family attitudes	#1
24. Poor living conditions	#6

direct contact with the Hmong. The result, according to this respondent, is that the Hmong as a group have been identified "by specific traits." Respondent #2 is also of the opinion that the media have played a role in public perceptions of the Hmong because of a lack of public contact with them. Respondent #3 implies agreement in suggesting that uninformed viewers (presumably those who have no contact with the Hmong) would base their opinions on media exposure. Respondent #4 feels that the negative nature of news has probably resulted in negative public perceptions of the entire Hmong culture. Respondent #5 says that any positive or negative images (from the media) will affect one's perceptions of another. Respondent #6 believes that the media have dispelled some of the mystery about the Hmong.

In these responses the broadcast respondents, as personal participants in the social action under study both as media professionals and as community residents, offer their views of the impact of media discourse on the public opinion formation process in this issue. The major underlying theme of their comments is that the broadcast news has had a major impact on public opinion of the Hmong, especially for those among the public who do not have personal contact with them.

In a related issue, Question #19 of the broadcast questionnaire asked: Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmong immigrants in Fresno has helped or hindered community acceptance of the Hmong? Why? In what way?

Broadcast respondent #1 says the broadcast coverage has helped in community acceptance because it communicated Hmong loyalty during the war. Respondent #2 feels

differently. She says that all the negative news about the Hmong is not always beneficial to their image.

Respondent #3 says broadcast coverage helps the Hmong become recognized as part of the community. Respondent #4 implies that broadcasts about the Hmong have not been helpful to community acceptance of the Hmong because, despite an attempt at balanced coverage, more negative than positive news is broadcast about the Hmong.

Respondent #5 says broadcast coverage has helped but implies that news about financial cutbacks and about the fast population growth of new groups in the valley has hindered acceptance by the receiving community.

Respondent #6 thinks broadcast coverage has helped in community acceptance of the Hmong, "just [because of] the exposure and the fact that some of the questions about difference in culture are being answered."

The implication of all the answers taken together is that according to these respondents, broadcast coverage of the Hmong in the Fresno area contributed positively to their acceptance by the receiving community in that it fostered understanding of why they were there and of their culture, but because of the nature of news (which reports on problems as opposed to what is going right in a community) broadcast coverage created negative community feelings about the Hmong, and was therefore a hindrance to their acceptance. Stated even more succinctly, although broadcast coverage was informative, it probably resulted in negative public opinion about the Hmong.

One advantage of the broadcast text is that it reveals not only the content of broadcast coverage of the Hmong but also the broadcasters' ideas within the context of

this issue about the process of opinion formation itself. Many of their comments about opinion formation display their conventional wisdom about the interrelationship of media exposure, personal experience, and interpersonal communication with specific regard to issues such as the impact on opinion of broadcast coverage when there is no personal experience with an issue.

Broadcast respondent #1, for example, very explicitly says that broadcast coverage will be influential in creating opinion where there is no direct/personal contact with the issue. Similarly, broadcast respondent #2 says the media play a role in creating public perceptions of the Hmong because "there are few direct confrontations with the Hmong people." Both of these comments are reminiscent of dependency theory (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur 1976, 1982) and of Gamson and Modigliani (1989) when they say "the role of the media in the process of constructing meaning will vary from issue to issue" (p. 10). "... on many issues people encounter relevant phenomena directly rather than through mass-media accounts. They try to understand events in light of what touches their lives" (p. 9).

In a related issue, broadcast respondents stress repeatedly that personal experience with the Hmong and/or interpersonal communication with others who have had direct experience are essential to forming accurate, properly based, or complete opinions. Some examples of comments that express a distrust of opinions that are not based on personal experience with the Hmong are as follows:

BR#1: I have no first hand validity of their agricultural expertise. (Q#10)

BR#2: I personally do not think those images are valid. By talking with people who are working directly with the Hmong, I have learned

of their desire to make a life for themselves. I have also learned about the horrible hardships they faced in the homeland and have empathy for them. (Q#7)

BR#3: In my role in television I seldom get out of the station to see the story first hand and then see the final product. Without this insight I am much like any other viewer in that I only see the final product. This causes me to create attitudes just like any other. (Q#20) . . . I personally know only one Hmong. (Q#25)

BR#4: They should also try to be more accessible to the media, so that misperceptions could be dispelled. (Q#26)

BR#5: Do I personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Only to hear stories from Hmong acquaintances of the horror of Vietnam. (Q#10)

BR#6: I believe the general public doesn't understand the Hmong culture at all. I've had more contact with the Hmong, and I'm still confused. (Q#7) . . . Some of the stories have reflected feelings/attitudes consistent with those of broadcast reporters, but I don't think the sensitivity and intelligence of these people is accurately projected. (Q#20)

Several of the comments made by the broadcast respondents reflect their opinions about the impact of media frames and of mental schemata in shaping and defining the ways in which people think about groups of people in general, and about the Hmong in particular, and in creating public opinion about them. This understanding is reflected in comments such as the following:

BR#1: I think it [a negative story about the Hmong] is like other stories that are about some individuals in a group. People might project the image to the entire group. A Mexican on welfare might represent all Mexicans to some. A lazy black might represent all blacks as being lazy to some. When this Hmong story came out I heard the comment ". . . it didn't take them long to find out how to use the system." (Q#13) . . . The effect has been that very generic traits are applied to individuals and certain individual actions are assumed to be representative of the whole group. They [the Hmong] have not yet achieved the perception of true

individuality. (Q#17) . . . I think people need to "pigeon-hole" things in their mind. Not much was known about them and people take the broadcast information and try to compile a picture in their mind. It takes time and a lot of information to stop projecting group images on to individuals. (Q#20)

BR#2: In general, what images do I think the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong? In most cases, there is the perception that the Hmong are rather helpless and lost in this culture and NOT bright enough to learn the benefits of western culture. This is a rather narrow interpretation from people who have no idea about the history of these people. (Q#14)

BR#3: Any story does create perceptions, like it or not. Depending on the amount and type could govern the otherwise uninformed viewer to develop opinions based on their viewing. (Q#17) . . . If a person can relate to a media image which is presented, they may change or create a positive attitude. (Q#19)

BR#4: So if most stories people see about Hmong are a shooting, or another such negative story, of course the effect will be to view the entire culture negatively. (Q#17) . . . Personally, the stories I have seen broadcast reflect my feelings. Whether good or bad, the stories do shed light on the culture. (Q#20)

BR#6: I think the perception by many people in this community is that the Southeast Asians do nothing but eat up welfare. This story showed the pride and independence of the people and showed how important it is to them that they are self-sufficient. (Q#13)

These comments are another indication of the broadcasters' perception of the importance of the influence of the broadcast media voice in community discourse about the Hmong.

Another perception about the relationship between the media and community discourse about the Hmong that arises several times in the comments of the broadcast respondents, and that was not anticipated or suggested by the questionnaire, is that the Hmong have been overlooked or ignored in the community by the broadcast media as well as by the general population. This is surprising, considering the large size of this

group of newcomers and their social and financial impact on the receiving community.

This perception is expressed by comments such as the following:

BR#1: I don't think most people have [direct contact with the Hmong].
(Q#17)

BR#2: . . . the Hmong people are such a tight community, they rarely expose themselves to the general public. There are, therefore, few direct confrontations with the Hmong people. (Q#17)

BR#3: This story addressed Hmongs as an overlooked minority within the community. (Q#6) . . . They definitely are a minority, and their needs and rights are often overlooked. (Q#7) In thinking about stories very few came to mind. This tells me they are not in the public eye and are often overlooked. (Q#14)

BR#5: . . . the Hmong population has no word in the political arena.
(Q#18)

BR#6: I think if anything more stories need to be done on the Hmong. I think the community is more or less ignored unless we receive a press release or something tragic happens. (Q#26)

The insights of these broadcast professionals (and community members) into the relationship of the broadcast media to community discourse and opinion formation about the Hmong are revealing. They provide an understanding of a situation in which media messages about the Hmong were scant, in their view, but in which the stories and images that were portrayed had a defining effect in shaping public opinion about the Hmong.

Conclusion: Media Frames of the Hmong

Despite the basic structural dissimilarity between the newspaper and broadcast texts, some observations will be made here about the similarities and differences in the findings that have been identified in this chapter's examination of the two texts. Among the similarities are that the Hmong were framed by multiple and diverse images in both

of the texts. There was no clear, unified media voice framing the Hmong in either of the texts. Rather, media content contained and reflected multiple community voices and points of view about the Hmong and were sites at which communitywide discourses about the Hmong converged.

With specific regard to the substance of the frames of the Hmong in the newspaper and broadcast texts, however, a comparison of Table 3.2 and Table 3.5 shows that similarities in themes arise, such as the following: the Hmong are uneducated refugees who were loyal to American forces in the Vietnam War, they are a drain on public resources, their culture is mysterious and primitive, they are having difficulty assimilating into American society, and they are committed to education.

These common themes that span the two texts can be assumed to be central to the macro-level of public communication about the Hmong throughout the community and therefore to constitute an important part of media discourse and of the context within which private discourse and opinion formation occurred.

Despite these basic similarities in the core images by which the Hmong are framed in these texts, however, there is a subtle difference in focus and tone in the frames arising from each of the texts. For example, although the newspaper text has been shown to be weighted to the institutional American voice, it nevertheless expresses more of the Hmong experience and point of view than does the broadcast text. Some frames arising from the newspaper text which do not appear so strongly in the broadcast text portray the Hmong as oppressed victims-victims of the war, of circumstances in the refugee camps, of unfulfilled American promises, and of their own leadership. The newspaper text speaks

of Hmong unhappiness, of their desire to return home, and of their devotion to their cultural, religious, and medical practices.

Although there is some of this flavor in the broadcast text, there is a difference in that this text seems to view the Hmong almost entirely from the point of view of the receiving culture. For example, many of the stories (Table 3.4) focus on the negative impact of the Hmong presence in the community—Hmong gangs, Hmong crime, and Hmong drain on and misuse of the welfare system. The issue of Hmong crime does not arise as a frame in the newspaper text at all.

Much of this difference could possibly be explained by the character of the newspaper text, which consists entirely of long articles that by nature move beyond day-to-day crime stories, specific events, and news releases and that examine issues in more depth than would be possible in typical newscast coverage. A newspaper text consisting of the short (as opposed to the long) articles in the VU/TEXT database⁵ would perhaps be more analogous to the broadcast text in terms of content and frames.

The net effect of examining these diverse texts, however, has been to allow a broad view of the range of media content about the Hmong that was available at the macro-level of public discourse and within which, and parallel to which, private discourse occurred.

⁵See discussion of VU/TEXT in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 4

EXPERIENTIAL TEXTS

Introduction

In his discussion of the design of qualitative research and the goals of qualitative studies, James Anderson (1987) uses the metaphor of an anthill. He says, "an anthill is built by the cooperative efforts of each individual ant carrying a single grain of sand" and that it is "an artifact of that coordinated, individual activity" (p. 267). Traditional sociological studies focus on the "anthills of human activity" and provide little understanding about "the socially constructed realities" of the individual ants. "Research from the qualitative perspective attempts to learn about the situated individual. Instead of investigating the anthill, it studies the ant as it goes about its daily effort" (p. 267).

The situated individual (SI) is a person who is conducting the everyday business of the maintenance and construction of the social realities in which we live. The SI is connected to others through a network of shared, mutually negotiated, and maintained meanings. . . . (p. 268)

Anderson (1987) says that "the individual and the situation, which is composed of the influence of others within a cultural, social, and physical context, combine to constitute the meaning of social action" and that the meaning will be found "in the actors' social discourse" (p. 352).

This study thus far has provided a view of the situation of interest through a discussion of the historical, social, and broader discursive context within which members

of the receiving community in the Fresno area constructed their personal opinions of the Hmong. This chapter will introduce situated individuals in the social action under study and will explore the ways in which they constructed their social realities about the Hmong through their networks of shared and mutually negotiated meanings. The chapter is comprised of first-person descriptions of the social discourse that contributed to the construction of personal opinion by presenting the responses of the study's participants to the data collection instrument (questionnaire) described in Chapter 1. The questionnaire sought to elicit information about individual respondents' participation in public discourse about the Hmong.¹

Texts of these experiences (experiential texts) have been constructed for each individual respondent into a narrative format that omits the questions to which participants responded, and records only their answers. The narratives thus constructed remain true to respondents' own words, except for occasional transitional words or phrases, taken from the precipitating questions, that have been added for purposes of clarity of reading. (Verbatim transcriptions of both questions and answers are provided in Appendix L.)

Respondents' answers to the questionnaire are presented in this fashion to allow them their own voices in describing and preserving their individual experiences with this issue. Further, the experiential texts thus constructed provide a mechanism by which the reader can experience the flow and tone of respondents' accounts in seamless,

¹The naturally occurring behavior of the individual is the fundamental evidence in the arguments of qualitative research. . . . Quantitative research emphasizes the aggregate because its explanatory intent is reductionistic. Qualitative research emphasizes the individual because its explanatory intent is expansionistic . . ." (Anderson, 1987, p. 251).

uninterrupted narratives.² The narratives speak for themselves in expressing individual personal experience and have therefore been included here as a chapter of their own. They begin with Respondent #1 and continue in uninterrupted sequence without comment through the full 27 respondents. A reading of these 27 individual experiences with this particular historical/social phenomenon (the receiving community's encounter with the Hmong) provides a sense of the totality and essence of this social experience for these individuals~an eidetic understanding of what went on.³ Full analysis of the experiential texts, taken together, occurs in Chapter 5.⁴

Respondent #1

I am a 52-year-old female librarian. It is my understanding that the Hmongs came to America because of factors dating to the Vietnam War and Communist~they helped the opposition and were greatly abused by them.

I have direct/personal contact with Hmongs at work and in Church. There is a congregation of about 60 at church. I have been to their meetings and celebrations-eaten

²"Qualitative explanation attempts to preserve the individual within the context of the social action. It does this by using the actual words, providing lengthy descriptions of performances, showing the artifacts or detailed representations of the artifacts that emanate from the individuals observed" (Anderson, 1987, p. 251).

³"Understanding what is going on is not a matter of cataloguing the component elements. It involves that voila insight which puts it all together. . . . The rule of eidetic analysis . . . states that the analyst must understand the totality before the meaning of the parts becomes apparent" (Anderson, 1987, p. 247).

⁴"Qualitative research's celebration of the individual does not imply that there can be no categorization, no identification of communalities among individuals. It does mean that the categories will be defined inductively rather than operationally. Inductive categories are defined by the exemplars contained within them. They arise after the observational text has been created" (Anderson, 1987, p. 251).

with them, had their grade school children in class. They are students at F.C.C. and come in the library. I have visited in their homes and taught the Hmong in a high school setting.

My positive feelings about the Hmongs are that they hard-working, family-oriented, law abiding, and appreciative of help. Friendly when approached, and humble in demeanor. My negative feelings are that they have some difficulty adapting or accepting U.S. values in regard to personal hygiene and eating; time and schedules are meaningless.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been mixed, but mostly positive. They have been friendly, affectionate in high school and church setting. They have been ready to assist in my work and appreciative of my help. They do not seem interested, however, in getting to Sunday School on time and the children disrupt coming in late.

I have heard other people say about the Hmongs that "They are dirty" and "Their houses smell funny."

In general I would say that people I know have had negative or mixed experiences with the Hmongs. They make harsh judgements on people who have different values and they fail to have more experience with them.

I do not know if I have read of the Hmongs in particular in the newspapers, or if what I have read is about other SouthEast Asian people. One man committed suicide when arrested for some minor infraction. Their fear of police seems extraordinary. I watch little TV or hear radio.

I first became aware of Hmongs as a group in schools where I taught. My initial perceptions of them were that they were strangers in a strange land with a horrid background of unhappy experiences and great loss. Now my perceptions are that they are people like other people, making great strides in one generation in adjusting to a culture differing enormously from their own. They are to be commended, assisted, encouraged, enfolded.

I have encountered language difficulties in communicating with the Hmong people. Other than language differences, the difficulties I have encountered in working or living with Hmongs and their values are as I mentioned in re to time and schedules.

What I know about Hmong culture is that they were considered backward even in that part of the world. They have interesting and colorful ceremonies and costumes. I learned these things from the Hmongs and from other Asians. I have attended their New Years celebration and weddings.

Stereotypes of the Hmong are that their physical characteristics are unique, life and clothing styles are also different.

I belong to a church group, the College Church of Christ, that has rendered assistance to the Hmongs—financial, educational, and religious. I have personally participated in such projects. I have contributed money, visited, taught.

My attitudes and feelings about the Hmongs are that they were refugees~I admire them for the changes they have been able to incorporate. Their children are cooperative. They have never been discipline problems to me. They are eager, they respect authority. Our schools and communities benefit from people like that.

My attitudes or feelings about what the Hmongs are like are that they are hardworking, family-oriented, gentle, and a contribution to our society.

I believe the Hmongs have as much right to be here as I. My ancestors crossed the Atlantic several generations ago. In another couple of generations only their physical characteristics will distinguish them so quickly are they adapting. I always wonder, "How would it be if I were in their shoes? Could I do as well?" They seem to be less burdensome to our tax dollars than many others. I think we better learn to pronounce their names; they may be running this country. Let's hope they do a better job than our current representatives. They appear to be far more honest, less deceitful, and hardworking.

Respondent #2

I am a 23-year-old male student. I know little about why the Hmongs have come to America, but I had two roommates that were Hmongs.

I have direct/personal contact with Hmongs in school. Also, I roomed with two Hmongs so we talked, had parties together, played tennis and fixed meals.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive. They would do nice little acts of service. But I had problems with some of their unsanitary culinary habits. I'm a health-specialist-to-be, and some of their practices made me sick.

I have usually heard other people make derogatory statements about the Hmongs. Usually they are from people with little if any contact with the Hmongs. I believe there are negative attitudes and with experiences they are either greatened or completely thrown out.

I first became aware of the Hmongs in August, 1991. At first I was worried. I didn't know what to expect. Then I discovered that they were warm and friendly, however they would say what they wanted to or felt.

I have encountered difficulties in communicating with Hmongs. Many times they would leave messages and notes. The grammar was so poor sometimes that it required time to figure them out. Also, they were clean and intense. I'm laid back and relaxed. They wanted things done that I felt were unnecessary.

While I lived with Hmongs I learned about their culture. I learned cooking and eating habits, and found that they spoke strait [sic] forward, even crude at times.

I think the Hmong have been stereotyped by their physical characteristics. They are often thrown into the Asian mold or stereotype. For example people say they are Japanese or Chinese without talking to them and finding out what they really are.

Probably the thing that bothered me most was sharing our kitchen. Many of their practices in the kitchen would be considered "cochino" (Spanish): Dirty compared to our standard and many times unsafe and unsanitary to the others in the apartment

I don't really care if the Hmongs are here in America. If they affect my life and bother me, it's just an individual not the culture.

Respondent #3

I am a 36-year-old male student. It is my understanding that the Hmongs came to America because they helped U.S. forces during the Vietnam war, and they would probably be killed if they returned home. I have no direct, personal contact with the Hmongs.

Most Hmongs are diligent and hard working. Some form gangs and prey on others.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive. My wife works at a restaurant where several Hmongs are employed. She likes their work, the only problem is that they don't speak English very well—but some are taking classes to improve their English.

I don't take the paper, but on radio and television I have heard about gang problems.

I first became aware of the Hmongs in the mid-1980s. My initial perceptions of them were that they were just another S.E. Asian refugee group. (This is generally positive, because I have dealt personally with Cambodian and Laotian refugees.)

My perceptions have not really changed over time—perhaps disappointment that some joined gangs.

What I know about Hmong culture is that it is agricultural based. I learned this primarily by associations with other South-east Asian groups.

I assume the Hmongs have been stereotyped by others, but I don't really know in what way.

I don't belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong, but I have helped other refugee groups with housing, clothing, and sponsoring through the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

My attitudes and feelings about the Hmongs are open. I respond to individuals as an individual (not stereotype). My feelings about what the Hmongs are like are that they are hard-working; they have potential but are sometimes lacking in opportunity.

The biggest problem I see with the Hmongs and other S.E. Asians is that our culture and programs do little to relate to their background and lifestyle. If they were given small plots of land instead of welfare apartments, I think they could actually fit in better with our culture and society because they would be able to maintain self-esteem and have something to do. More emphasis should also be placed on ESL programs.

Respondent #4

I am a 59-year-old male college administrator. It is my understanding that the Hmongs came to America to start a new life; to escape persecution; and as a payoff for assisting U.S. forces in Vietnam.

I have direct/personal contact with the Hmongs at work (school). I assisted in the development of a TV series helping Hmongs understand laws and regulations pertaining to the legal system, hunting and fishing, and driving regulations.

My positive feelings about the Hmongs are that they have good moral attitudes and a positive work ethic. As they develop language skills they should become a major economic force.

Some of my more negative feelings are that there has been a slowness to adapt to the new culture; control of the leadership over the group; misunderstanding of U.S. law and regulations.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been positive. The Hmongs are good workers—we hire lots of students. They tend to be highly motivated and willing to do a good job if they understand.

In my conversations with others I find much confusion between Southeast Asian cultures, i.e., Hmong, Vietnamese, Cambodian, etc. People tend to place them in one pot.

Most people I am associated with have had a similar experience with the Hmongs as I have.

Much about their cultural celebration has been noted in the papers and T.V. It's fascinating!

I first became aware of Hmongs in 1981-1982. My initial perceptions of them were not very positive—assumed they would be welfare recipients. Over time my impressions have changed! Now I see them one generation away from being very productive citizens.

I have encountered very little difficulty in communicating with Hmongs; no difficulty other than language.

I know very little about Hmong culture. I know it's controlled by the family leader. Also they are very superstitious. I learned these things through contacts developing the T.V. series.

Some stereotypes of that Hmong are about their unusual food (eat dogs, etc.) and their size—generally short people.

I belong to a religious group that has rendered help and assistance to the Hmongs—the Friends Community Church. We provided a Church building for their

worship activities. I participated in a dinner exchange (just one time--my wife must eat very bland food).

I admire the Hmongs. I am fascinated by their stories of escape and resettlement. They are very family oriented, and hard working. They have tough discipline, and are especially hard on females.

Give the Hmongs a few more years. They will become very productive citizens.

Respondent #5

I am a 43-year-old female secondary English teacher. My understanding is that at least the first wave of Hmong immigration was a result of agreements with Hmong tribes made during the Vietnam war which resulted in their endangerment in the region after our withdrawal. Subsequent immigration is from refugees and probably family members.

I currently have personal contact with Hmongs at work (school), but also previously at Valley Children's Hospital. At Valley Children's Hospital I often was responsible for contacting translators for the doctors and nurses to communicate with parents and to obtain consents. Occasionally tribal customs came into conflict with hospital practices, ie. - IV's being started on babies heads, cutting off woven bracelets, etc. On one occasion the tribal shaman came in and started a small fire under the bed in the Pediatrics Intensive Care Unit. On the other hand, Hmongs who had been in the U.S. for a time seemed to have made excellent progress in language acquisition and managing the balance of the old customs and the new country.

As a teacher I have been impressed with the effort my Hmong students put into their work. They are generally a delight to teach as they are respectful of teachers and learning. They tend to make excellent progress.

The Hmongs I have had contact with have had very strong family ties and support. They value education generally and are hard-working. They seem to maintain valuable tradition and arts.

I have encountered some pretty bad drivers. Also, my students sometimes complain that their elders hang on too tightly to the old ways and still think in terms of going "home" while the U.S. is home to the younger generation. I fear that many Hmongs may fall victim to the negative aspects of American society and lose the strengths they brought.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive. Occasionally I have heard comments about Hmongs eating neighborhood pets or about Hmong gangs. But mostly my colleagues and friends have had the same kinds of experiences and impressions I have.

Other people that I know have also had generally positive experiences with the Hmongs. Most of the people I know are in education and their experiences have been like mine for the most part.

I have read little about Hmongs in the newspapers, and seen or heard very little on TV or radio. I first became aware of the Hmongs at Valley Children's Hospital as patients and in my neighborhood as my local grocery store began to adjust its

merchandise to meet their needs. I think variety is interesting and healthy for a neighborhood and a society. My first impressions of them were as I previously indicated.

The only change in my impressions is that I worry about stories I hear about Hmong youth gangs as gangs tend to occur when families are breaking down and the family unit is a critical part of what I have perceived as a Hmong strength.

I have encountered some difficulties in communicating with Hmongs—the kinds of difficulties one has when trying to communicate with someone who speaks a different language or when you have both not fully acquired the language of the other. ESL type problems. Other than language differences, I have not really encountered any difficulties in working or living with Hmongs? There can be misunderstandings at first, but it only takes a little effort to clear them up if both parties have good will.

I know very little, really, about Hmong culture. I have the impression that the tribal and family hierarchy is central. There are still fiercely held old traditions and even superstitions. I am extremely fond of the handicrafts—especially textiles. I learned these things about Hmong culture through hearsay.

Unfortunately, most groups end up being stereotyped—especially the new immigrant on the block. My stereotype of Hmongs is probably positive for the most part—insofar as any stereotyping can be considered positive.

I would like to learn more about the Hmongs and really should have made more of an effort to do so. I admire the diligence of my Hmong students. While the Hmongs undoubtedly represent the same range of human behaviors as any other group, my big

generalization based on my experience would be that they are hardworking, family-oriented, tribal-centered, gentle and polite, and linguistically disadvantaged.

I feel the Hmongs have a right to be here. Based upon my understanding, our agreements give them a fair claim to assistance. Public perception and mine too could undoubtedly be broadened with more accurate information and associations. My contacts have suggested that they are getting along pretty well but more understanding is needed and perhaps more effort to help them to successfully adapt.

Respondent #6

I am a 23-year-old female college student/secretary. I am not very familiar with Hmong heritage or status but I understand that there is an abundance here in Fresno and many family communities are flourishing.

I have personal contact with the Hmongs in school. I have brief conversations with them about school. I've noticed they are quiet and keep to themselves. This question about what is good about the Hmongs doesn't make sense to me. They seem normal like other foreign cultures that I've come into contact with.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive. They are capable of communication and concerned with their aspects in school. I've heard from other people that the Hmongs have gone through really hard times, their culture relies on their God and that they don't believe in medication.

I feel a lot of people have had mixed feelings about the Hmongs cause different cultures (compared to Americans) have different communication skills and may come off rather rude but Hmong probably don't mean to be like that.

I have read a brief story in the library when they had Hmong month. The 2nd floor of the library provided framed pictures and backgrounds of Hmong students who attend CSU Fresno. You can see how far (poor-rich) the family unit has come since they've left their country. I guess it sort of shows how lucky most Americans are.

I've seen a story in the TV news on how Hmong children are represented in our schools (not a very nice sight).

I've begun to become aware of Hmong my 2nd semester here in Fresno 1990. My initial impression was that there are a lot of them. They have a lot of children. I feel sorry for a lot of the families who have big families. It's hard to have a stable income when you have a lot of children.

I have not really had any difficulties in communicating with Hmongs—only language difficulties. The only things I remember about Hmong culture are hearsay and that is not valid. I feel the Hmongs been stereotyped as: a lot of children; long clothes; mean (not happy); eat dogs and cats; very quiet; short; dark hair.

I'm not sure if the groups and Church I belong to have helped the Hmong in particular but I know we've donated assistance to who asks. (I belong to the Lions Club in Salinas; PSE (Pi Sigma Epsilon); and Catholic Apostle Church (Madonna de Salso). I've participated in many projects. For example: bake sales, marathons, golf tournament, etc. We don't ask for nationalities or ethnic backgrounds. We just raise money and help those in financial disabilities.

I'm unsure how to describe Hmong generally-different people with different personalities. Curiosity of what most Hmong generally are feeling. The descriptive

words I would use to sum up my attitudes or feelings about what the Hmongs are like are: Just like us; but hardship to our society if not stable; shy (girls are); family-oriented.

Hmongs have a right to be in America but not aliens. They need to be recognized and added to the consensus. Public perceptions of the Hmongs seem negative, and a lot of Fresno communities don't want to deal with them~so they are invisible. They are here but not recognized. Only time will tell how they will get along. I'm worried about the children. Hopefully they won't become criminals. We need to help these families if they are here to stay cause in the future they will be a bigger burden on our society. Education is a must!

Respondent #7

I am a 26-year-old male hardware salesman at Sears. I understand that the Hmong came to America because they were kicked out of Laos because of their involvement with helping us fight the Viet Cong. When the communists came to Laos, we refused to help them, and then said they could come to U.S. if they could get here.

I have direct/personal contact with Hmongs at home. They live down the street from me in "sin city," but I haven't really had any personal experiences with them.

Some of my positive feelings about them are that they are positive proof of the American Dream, they are definitely. . . .

But, my negative feelings are that they are getting things for free-good cars. They are living off the government and are welshing on their debts.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been mixed. Negative-seeing them in big nice cars, driving. I have heard others say that the Hmongs are lowlifes, thieves, no

goods, free loaders. In general, I would you say other people that I know have had negative experiences with Hmongs because of racism. People are against anything that is not like them. Fresno is the biggest racist area I have ever seen, or lived in.

I have read in the newspapers about the Fresno P.D. Hmong gangs are stealing and destroying Fresno. I have seen and heard the same on TV and radio. Stories are mixed in negative and positive.

I first became aware of Hmongs as a group 2-3 years ago when I lived in area west of C.S.U.F. [California State University, Fresno.] My initial perceptions were that they were freeloaders, living off government. My perceptions have changed over time through learning about them and how they earned the money, through Vietnam war, and helping us there.

I have encountered difficulties in communicating with Hmongs because of language barriers-understanding them. Other than language differences, I haven't really encountered any difficulties in working or living with Hmongs, unless you consider the biases I have about them.

What I know about Hmong culture is that they were farmers in Laos; very family oriented. I learned this by reading history books, and other books.

I think the Hmongs have been stereotyped as garbage diggers, poor looking clothes, lowly (holding heads low), population exploders.

I do not belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong.

My attitudes about the Hmongs are dislike, hatred, biased against, mistrust, uncaring. My feelings about what the Hmongs are like are that they are baby producers, hard working, freeloaders, family-oriented, problem makers, very different, and shy.

I believe the Hmong should be in America but I wouldn't want them in my area. I don't think they should be on welfare (ie. war chest). Some of the perceptions are correct but others are way off base. They are not assimilating into our society but they are keeping to themselves.

Respondent #8

I am a 60-year-old female housewife and school teacher. I understand the Hmongs came to America because they assisted the U.S. CIA and U.S. war machine against the communists in the Vietnam War. The U.S. promised asylum to the Hmong if political events transpired in such a way that it became necessary for the safety of the Hmongs involved with U.S.

I have direct/personal contact with Hmongs at work teaching-elementary school, and 5 years experience with Lao in church capacity. My positive feelings about the Hmongs are that they have great patience, and are self-effacing. The parents strongly support a good education for their children; encourage completion of homework. Sibling children play together, with the eldest children responsible for younger children.

My negative feelings about them are that the welfare system is corrupting some fathers. They cannot find high paying jobs so some will not work. Too much free time for adults leads to gambling or drinking. . . .

I would say my overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive. I have heard others say that they are industrious, loyal to friends and family. Also, love of family. In general, I would say other people I know have had positive experiences with Hmongs.

In newspaper stories about Hmongs I have read about the achievement of honors, awards, and recognition of excellence in scholastic achievement. A few crime stories, a few suicides. . . .

On radio or television I have heard about crimes against Hmongs by members of other ethnic minority groups. Also, their fear of getting in trouble with the U.S. legal system over child discipline, welfare, medical, authorities.

I first became aware of Hmongs in my Church capacity. My first impressions were that they were another group of people admitted to the welfare system—burden on tax payers. Not as clean as Americans in general. My perceptions/impressions have changed 90% over time because of my understanding of what brought them to the U.S. in the first place. Also, knowing they want to work. Most can't find jobs because of A) not proficient in English, B) prejudice on the part of prospective employers, C) job competition in a state highly populated with blacks and Hispanics.

What I know about Hmong culture is that the Hmongs are descendants of Chinese who invaded Laos highlands centuries ago. When Chinese went home, some troops were left behind. They mixed with the local culture in the highlands of Laos. I learned these things through reading and through conversations with Lao and other Asian people.

I think the Hmong have been stereotyped by height—taller. The women are known for beautiful needlework. They are thrifty—in all things—especially food preparation.

I belong to a community or religious group that has rendered help or assistance to the Hmong—the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The church has helped with food, clothing, occasional cash outlay for various things. Counseling and transportation on myriad day-to-day problems such as medical, legal, school, utility bills, etc.

My feelings about the Hmong are admiration and curiosity. Also, religious feelings—they are here according to the mercy of God. We have a responsibility to help and share what we have with them.

The Hmong are hardworking, just-like-us, family-oriented, pleasant, nice, gentle, intelligent, shy. There is no doubt about the fact that the money from our tax-dollars goes to support them.

Feelings about Southeast Asians: They have a high birth rate. Costs astronomical here in Fresno for support of high-influx of Southeast Asians. Southeast Asians in general: some areas where they live become strewn with rubbish, sidewalks and walkways are heavily soiled. They have large families and often open their homes to relatives who need help—so—many people in small area.

The Hmong have the right to be here because assisting U.S. in Vietnam caused their lives to be in jeopardy in their own country. I'm ambiguous about cost of supporting generations of burgeoning families forever. Sometimes I hate it—but

sometimes I feel that Americans have far more than we need. We have not suffered war—devastation of our homeland like many countries.

We are given much—we should share what we have. We can learn much about loyalty, unselfishness devoted families, sibling relationships where sisters and brothers in a family are best friends with each other.

Respondent #9

I am a 23-year-old female student. The Hmongs came to America because they are trying to escape real political oppression. They see America as a land of freedom and opportunity.

I do not have direct/personal contact with Hmongs. I have seen them around the school campus. They seem to keep to themselves for the most part. Some of them seem to try too hard to fit in with American culture as portrayed by the media, ie. smoking, partying. The Hmongs I've seen at church functions seem very humble and sweet.

My positive feelings about the Hmongs are that they have had enough hard experiences in their country to give them humility, compassion and a want for better life of freedom. But my negative feelings are that they are too easily led into the bad things in American culture in their trying to fit in.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been positive. The positive things I've seen have been examples of their childlike humility in church settings.

I have heard other people say that the first generation ones are okay, but the ones that are born in America try to fit in with the "cool" crowd and get spoiled and "wild." I've also heard that they are living off welfare and are backward.

In general, I would say other people that I know have had mixed experiences with Hmongs. Some who work with them in church really love them. Others who don't know them feel they are unfriendly, backward, and lazy.

In the newspapers I have read stories of the terrors they left behind, how they are establishing themselves here in America, and also about their distrust in the medical profession and in the police. I've seen television stories of a family who would not allow surgery on their son's club foot because they thought it was a payment for ancestral sins.

I first noticed the Hmongs in 1986. My initial impression was one of compassion for them, and that they were a humble people. For the most part my impressions have remained the same.

I have encountered some language barriers in communicating the Hmongs. I don't speak Hmong, and some of them don't speak English well. What I know about Hmong culture is that they are family-oriented and meek. I learned these things by observation, and from those who work with them in church.

The Hmongs are stereotyped as backwards, stupid, lazy, welfare-seekers. I think these ideas arise from fear of our own economy going bad and also from not getting to know and understand the Hmong people and their reasons for coming here.

I belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. It teaches them English, helps them with food and clothing, and teaches them the gospel of Christ. I helped once with a Christmas service project giving gifts to a Hmong family.

My attitudes or feelings about the Hmongs are compassion, curiosity, fear, uncomfortable. I think the Hmongs are ambitious, freedom-loving, kind, humble, family-oriented, scared, wanting to fit in.

I think the Hmongs have a right to be here, but I have a hard time with this one. I think the welfare system should help them find work as fast as they are able to, because I do believe they are, for the most part, very willing to work and be self-sufficient.

Respondent #10

I am a 45-year-old female teacher. I understand that the Hmongs have come to America because of persecution in their homeland and because America has afforded them the opportunity to immigrate.

I do not have direct/personal contact with Hmongs now. Two years ago I taught summer school, and I had many Hmongs in my class. Also, my daughter, a sophomore in college, interviewed a Hmong college student for a paper my daughter wrote for a college class. She shared insight she received from the Hmong woman.

My positive feelings about the Hmongs are about their courage in leaving their homeland and attempting to adjust to a very different culture. Their stamina needed to survive horrendous conditions in their homeland and difficult conditions here.

I do not have negative feelings about Hmongs as a group. My overall experience with Hmongs has been positive. While teaching my summer school classes, I came into contact with Hmong students who were eager to learn. In fact, when the July 4 holiday rolled around, all of them wanted to meet rather than to take the holiday. (I wanted to take the holiday.)

I have heard others say that they're dirty, they're lazy, they stay to themselves and make no effort to assimilate. They eat their pets.

The people I know have had positive experiences. These are teachers and my daughter. The teachers have had similar experiences to mine. Of course, some have experienced a small number of gang members~but that's in any culture. Other people who have not personally known the Hmong people, frequently feel negatively toward them.

I've read in the newspapers (and heard on radio and TV) about Hmong cultural activities and about Hmong difficulties with adjustment and about Hmong crime.

I'm not sure I can place a time when I first became aware of the Hmongs. My initial impression were that they were foreign, different, timid. My perceptions/impressions have changed over time. The change mainly came via my teacher experience. I acquired a respect and compassion for them.

They have limited English skills - the ones whom I taught, but I've had no other difficulties in working or living with them. What I know about Hmong culture is that the family ties are strong, the marriage-courting ritual is quite different than ours, they are farmers. I learned these things through my students and my daughter's friend.

I do not belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong.

My attitudes about the Hmongs are respect, admiration, curiosity, interest. I believe the Hmongs are family-oriented, pleasant, nice, gentle, intelligent, contribution to our society, shy.

I feel the Hmongs do have a right to be here and a fair claim to our resources. I don't feel public perceptions are accurate, mainly because of ignorance. It seems that it is very difficult for the Hmong to assimilate into our culture. The young people I have heard of who have been able to, for instance, go on to college have done so with a combination of sheer determination and the help of a mentor.

Respondent #11

I am a 37-year-old female Program Development Assistant. I understand that the Hmongs resettled here due to the displacement caused by the Vietnam War.

I have personal contact with Hmongs at work. I have provided them with information about educational opportunities at the Community College level.

My positive feelings about the Hmong are that they are eager to learn about education and personal growth. The Hmong with whom I come into contact are seeking to upgrade their communication skills and level of understanding as it relates to cultural differences/barriers. I have not experienced any negative feedback. My overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive.

I've heard others say that they are unproductive members of society and unwilling to change their unproductive (as defined by our standards) behavior. Other people I know have had mixed experiences with Hmongs—because they have reached a broader representation of Hmong people [than I have].

I first became aware of Hmongs in 1986-87 when working to address educational needs in the community. My initial impressions were that they were timid. My

perceptions/impressions have changed over time because I have seen their confidence level increase as they attend school.

I have encountered language/cultural differences in working with the Hmongs. What I know about Hmong culture is that they were farmers and village people in their homeland. I learned these things in a seminar. I think the Hmong have been stereotyped as lower economic status, not as bright.

I do not belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong.

I have found these people to be survivors. They are hardworking, quiet, unassuming. Not having all the information about their migration to the U.S. and the government's involvement, it's difficult for me to criticize or make judgement calls. I believe everyone should contribute to our national well-being. Job training, education, mainstreaming activities are contributors to that wellness and an investment by our government. After the investment, the persons would have an obligation to contribute.

Respondent #12

I am a 26-year-old male truck loader. The Hmongs are people who have fled from their country because of the oppression of their government. They usually lived in the mountains and hills and they fled here seeking freedom.

I have personal contact with Hmongs at Church. The younger generation seems to be very ambitious. But, some of them have formed gangs and they are very violent. More so than other gangs. Also it doesn't seem that some of them want to try to adapt to the American culture at all.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been positive. I have heard others say that their gangs are violent, they're lazy people, they steal people's fruit from their trees, they'll try to eat your dogs or cats.

Other people I know have had positive experiences with Hmongs. Most of the time it is with those who go to church and who are trying to follow a religious way of life.

I haven't read newspaper stories about Hmongs. On radio and television I have seen or heard that many were being denied entrance to some of the top universities in the country even though their scores rank amongst the highest in the country also.

I first became aware of Hmongs when I was in high school about 1981. My initial perceptions were that they were people who were coming to this country because of the opportunities here. My perceptions have not really changed over time. I think they were seeking the opportunity for freedom.

It is very hard to understand the Hmongs when they try to speak English. Other than language differences, I have encountered other difficulties in working or living with Hmongs. I sometimes wonder if the stories are true about them eating dogs and I would never eat any meat they cook.

My knowledge about their culture is that they live together as large family units. I learned this by observation. I think the Hmongs are stereotyped as humble and poor.

I belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. It provides welfare assistance in food, clothing, and help in transportation. I have not personally participated in any such projects.

My feelings about the Hmongs are apathy and curiosity. I think the Hmongs are gentle people for the most part, survivors, shy. Many people feel that they just leach off of our government for welfare assistance. But I feel that they deserve any help that we can give them. They've gone through a lot more than any of us will ever have to in order to gain their freedom.

Respondent #13

I am a 66-year-old female housewife. I understand that the Hmongs came to America only because of the war. They were treated so badly~in order to survive they had to leave their homeland.

I do not have direct/personal contact with Hmongs. I worked for one half day at the rag picking factory and a Hmong was the supervisor. He was very nice—helpful and seemed pleasant. I was surprised at how small in size he was.

I feel the Hmongs are the same as other people—good and bad applies in all races and creeds. My overall experience with them has been positive. One lady I talked to had a class of teenagers who were Hmongs and she said they were cooperative and appreciative.

My grandson had a friend (Hmong) in school and he related that the boy was having a hard time because of the language difficulties and different background. Sometimes the child was hard to get along with.

I remember a story and picture in the newspapers of a family who were trying to cure their son of being very badly crippled by sacrificing a chicken and were upset when

the county wanted to give him (the crippled boy) good sound medical help. I have heard or seen little on radio or television.

My first impressions of the Hmongs were that they looked different than the Spanish.

I haven't tried to communicate with Hmongs except once and the Hmong gentleman spoke very acceptable broken English. I know nothing about their culture except their religion is involved with animals in some way. I learned this in a newspaper article—bad press. I have no idea if the Hmong have been stereotyped—not in my information bank.

I haven't participated in any help or assistance to the Hmongs. My attitude about the Hmongs is disinterest. Before I saw Hmongs - in my mind I thought them huge people. I guess because I thought they were mountain men. I was surprised when I saw a group together how small in stature they were and how poor they looked— but I felt them to be very intelligent.

Respondent #14

I am a 46-year-old female student. The Hmongs came to America as an oppressed group from Vietnam and traveled by boat. They suffered many hardships along the way; and, if they were to return to their country, they would not be accepted back. They came from jungle territory and lived primitively.

I have no direct/personal contact with Hmongs now, but did in the past at the hospital. While caring for their young children, I have observed primitive behaviors when dealing with medicine. They are not trustworthy in that area—afraid of modern medicine.

They shook chickens over their children and had their own priest come in periodically. They are a close knit family, but are not outwardly affectionate with their children.

My positive feelings are that they are a courageous people. They are willing to work hard. I have heard a teacher say that Hmong children are her best students. I have no negative feelings, other than it will take a while for them to adjust to modern ways.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been positive. I admired the way they took turns as a family through the night to be at their children's bedsides.

With fresh Hmong immigrants I have not been able to communicate directly. The second generation is more open to communication.

Some people worry about their cleanliness and the fact that many children do not become immunized—but Fresno is working on that. Other people I know have had positive experiences within a hospital setting at "Children's." The nurses are oriented to their culture; however, some are impatient.

I have not read newspaper stories about Hmongs, or seen or heard anything about them on radio or television. I first became aware of them at work at Childrens Hospital. At first, I had compassion for their innocence. My perceptions have not changed over time. I learned what I know about Hmong culture from a nursing orientation class.

When people see the Hmongs in American clothes, they expect them to be American cultured. The fact is that their dress was very different in the old country.

I'm LDS. I don't know if the church provides help or assistance to the Hmongs. I have not participated in assistance projects.

I think the Hmongs are hardworking, family-oriented, non-affectionate, intelligent, innocently oppressed, a contribution to society. I feel they are an attribute to our society. I watch them nurturing their crops and feel that they set an example for us. They are a blessing and their children are beautiful.

Respondent #15

I am a 23-year-old female Administrative Secretary at Fresno City College. I know very little about why the Hmongs have come to America. They were under communist type situations and were being hunted if they tried to leave the country.

I have personal contact with Hmongs at work, school. I have served many students. The EOAS program deals with low income under-represented students. Southeast Asians are among the students. Most are soft spoken and very polite. Many come to the college to learn and better themselves. However, there are many who also abuse the system, do not want to do the required studies and tutorial hours, and are only interested in the funding we provide. Unfortunately this is the case in every race not just Southeast Asian.

Most of my experience has been good. The only "handicap" is the language barrier. Many times it is difficult to understand students but the students are very patient in getting their message through and there is a Hmong assistant on staff.

My positive feelings about the Hmongs are that most are hard working. I mean this statement as educational—they want to learn and work very hard to get good grades. My negative feelings are that many do not know or understand procedures such as knocking before entering an office.

My overall experiences with Hmongs has been mixed, but more positive. Positive: polite, patient, understanding. Negative: Some are rude.

I have heard comments from others that the Hmongs use the system, are automatically bad drivers, are dirty. In general, I would say other people I know have had positive mixed experiences with Hmongs. Some say they work very well with them, others say they are lazy.

I haven't read newspaper stories about Hmongs. I'm not much of a paper reader. Sorry. On radio or television I have heard about the celebration of the Hmong New Year.

I first became aware of the Hmongs when I went to high school in 1983 as a freshman. My initial impressions were that they seemed to come out of no where and there were a lot of them. My perceptions have not really changed over time. I try not to be a judgmental person. I've never had a bad impression of them.

I've encountered language difficulties in communicating with Hmongs, but no other difficulties. I don't know very much about Hmong culture-just little things such as they don't like to be touched on the head. I learned these things by talking to our Hmong student personal services assistant.

I think the Hmongs have been stereotyped by things such as dog and cat eaters, having three and four families in one room, etc.

I think the Hmongs are just people just like us. They are very nice people. Unfortunately, I think they need to adapt more to our way of living in order to "fit in."

Respondent #16

I am a 51-year-old female teacher. My understanding is that the Hmongs came to America because they are escaping an oppressive regime.

I have a litde personal contact with them~at school. I have almost no personal experiences with them. By reputation as told to me by other teachers~the Hmongs are eager, hardworking, wanting to learn. But, the numbers of people have impacted our schools and support services heavily.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive. I don't have specific examples—newspaper reading, teacher reports only.

In conversations with others about the Hmongs, I have heard typical American cycle of bigotry. Other minorities, blacks and Latinos talk about Hmongs being on welfare, having fancy cars and TV, and having lots of kids, etc. Other people I know have had almost no experiences with the Hmongs.

I have read about them in the newspapers. A case in Fresno of a physically handicapped child for whom social agencies went to court for corrective surgery, but whose family felt for various cultural reasons, he should not have surgery. The family won, but much bitterness and lack of sensitivity to cultural difference were strong. Other stories-job getting, education, children adjusting, etc. have been mostly favorable. I have seen or heard little on radio and television.

I first became aware of Hmongs as a group a decade ago. My initial impressions of them were that they were pleasant, unassuming, shy, eager to please, uncertain. My impressions have not changed much over time.

I have no experience with communicating with Hmongs. I know very little about Hmong culture. What I know I learned only by reading~and one seminar years ago in hospital setting. The thing I remember is being told not to clip off a woven bracelet from Hmong patients. It has something to do with afterlife.

I think the Hmongs have been stereotyped as small, uncertain, willing to settle for less, raise own food, eager to please, many children, crowded substandard housing, menial jobs.

I do not belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong, and I have not participated in any such projects.

My attitudes or feelings about the Hmongs are curiosity, encouragement, and admiration. I think the Hmongs are hardworking, family-oriented, pleasant, nice, gentle, intelligent, a hardship to our society, and shy.

With a deep sigh—I do believe the Hmongs have a right to be here. Every new group in this country has taxed the resources—emotional, if not financial of the already established groups. I feel that I, and probably most of the public, are ill-informed about the Hmong population in our community despite my awareness that there are organized and earnest efforts to educate us. I believe the Hmongs are establishing themselves, with help, as well as can be expected at this stage and in an alien culture.

Respondent #17

I am a 22-year-old female student nurse. The Hmongs have come to America because the U.S. did damage to their home country we gave them immigrant status.

I have direct/personal contact with Hmongs. I work in a labor and delivery unit where many Hmongs deliver. I know that they have a lot of children. They don't really believe in birth control. So they have upwards of 10-15 kids. They start having children at about age 15. During labor they are very stoic. The further dilated they are the quieter they get. They don't pay much attention to their babies immediately after their birth because they're afraid the spirits will take the baby away. They also wear some type of life bracelets that should not be cut off for whatever reason.

They are very family oriented. Very many are on Medi-Cal and Welfare.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been mixed. Positive because I have learned a lot about them. They also have exciting child labors because they usually barely make it to the hospital in time to deliver. Negative—it makes me mad that they are saturating our welfare program and depriving some U.S. citizens from aid.

In general, I would say other people I know have had negative experiences with Hmongs.

I first became aware of Hmongs in labor and delivery. My first impressions were that they look like street people (mismatched clothes). My perceptions have not really changed over time.

I have encountered language difficulties in communicating with Hmongs. Also, they are not very sanitary when it comes to having babies. They try to squat on the ground and drop the baby on the floor, then they pull the placenta out. It would be nice to be more sanitary. I learned what I know about Hmong culture by other nurses.

The Hmongs have been stereotyped by clothing and birthing process. My attitudes or feelings about the Hmongs are interest, intrigue, and bitterness. I think the Hmongs are mellow, nonchalant, stoic, family oriented.

I really feel that we should stop allowing so many into our country and that it shouldn't be so easy for them to get aid.

Respondent #18

I am a 48-year-old female secretary. The Hmongs have come to America for a better life.

I do not have and have not had personal contact with Hmongs~at least that I know of.

What is positive about the Hmongs is that they are close knit, determined to better themselves. I've heard of some of the crime they're involved in (stealing cars, particularly). The things I have heard other people say about the Hmongs are negative—stealing cars, living together in great numbers and not taking good care of their living quarters, killing and eating people's pets. In general, I would say other people I know have had mixed experiences with Hmongs.

I haven't read anything lately in the newspapers about the Hmongs that I can recall.

I first became aware of Hmongs 3-4 years ago. My initial perceptions or impressions were somewhat neutral-maybe at times negative. My attitudes or feelings about the Hmongs are that I am disinterested but a little curious at times. My feelings about what the Hmongs are like is that they are family-oriented.

I feel they should be given a chance but should not continue to get public assistance after a time.

Respondent #19

I am a 44-year-old male librarian. The Hmongs have come to America to get away from political persecution.

I have personal contact with Hmongs at work, but I have had no personal experiences with them. My positive feelings about the Hmong are cultural aspects such as food, music, and history. My negative perceptions are other people's stereotypes. Not so good that they have to leave their country.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive. My only interaction has been in the library and here they are like everyone else, looking for library info. I have heard others make some negative comments: they get on welfare in this country, have lots of children, cohesive. Some positive comments: resourceful, industrious, hard-working.

In general, I would say other people I know have had mixed experiences with Hmongs. My friends are of mixed persuasion, some more conservative than others.

I have read in the newspapers about their cultural events, about their living in Fresno. On the radio or television I have heard information about where Hmong can go for assistance with agencies.

I first became aware of Hmongs as a group when living in Stockton, CA. My initial perceptions were that they were independent and hard-working. My impressions now are the same.

Some of Hmong are learning English. I know nothing about Hmong culture. Stereotypes about the Hmong: they seek welfare.

My attitudes or feelings about the Hmong are empathetic; adiriire; curious. Don't really know what Hmong are like except human like all of us.

The Hmong have a right to be here and have access to services. Some of the public have warped perceptions since they don't know anything about the Hmong either. I sense that the Hmong are not truly happy here away from their country.

Respondent #20

I am a 26-year-old male in education. The Hmong have come to America for freedom and advancement. I have personal contact with Hmong at work. In school and at work I have dealt with Hmong as they have attended school or tried to gain admittance to college.

My positive feelings about the Hmong are that they are hard workers; they come together as group/family to get job done. My negative feelings are the stereotypes: there hasn't been any response to them.

My overall experience with Hmong has been positive. For example, the hard work put into school or attempting to gain education by asking! I have heard others make negative comments about the Hmong—they eat cats, are pushy, always on welfare, etc.

In general, I would say other people I know have had mixed experiences with Hmong. Some people are more understanding than others.

I have read newspaper stories about Hmongs about their living conditions where they are from. Going after an education. Same stories on radio and television.

I first became aware of Hmongs as a group when I moved to Fresno in 1983 attending C.S.U. Fresno. I'm unsure what my initial perceptions or impressions were of them [or, I was unsure about them at first]. My impressions have changed over time. I've learned and lived with Hmongs and I believe that has given me a better understanding. I have encountered very little difficulty in communicating with Hmongs.

About Hmong culture: I know a bit about religion and dress but not enough to go into details. I learned these things from articles and presentations. I think the Hmong have been stereotyped by their clothes and car purchases.

The Hmongs are hardworking/go getters. They are quiet; clan or family oriented; trying to make it here.

Respondent #21

I am a 50-year-old male Community College Librarian. I believe the Hmongs have come here because of political unrest in their home land and because they want a better life, free from persecution. They had a limited future and little hope of happiness.

I have personal contact with Hmongs at work—I help students who are attending college when they come to the library to do research, etc. My contact and experiences have been limited. Several students attend the college where I work as a librarian. They sometimes ask for help in the library. I help them find books, use the card catalog, etc.

I have no feelings about what is positive about the Hmongs~no basis to answer the question. I read articles in the local papers and I hear others talk about them. Most of this negative. They seem to be creating more negative news than positive.

My limited experiences with Hmongs has been positive. I haven't had any personal negative experiences but hear of others who have. I hear about Hmongs who have over crowded apartments with 12 or more family members in one apartment. They run down property values. Don't practice birth control—have more kids than they can afford. Get on welfare as soon as they arrive here. They roam neighborhoods at night in vans stealing from garages, like gypsies of old. They look for dogs and cats to cook for their dinner, etc. They have unsanitary health and personal habits. They don't do yard work and keep their yards up.

Most of the people I know have negative comments about the Hmongs. See above. Some Hmongs grow and sell strawberries and vegetables at roadside stands. This appears to be a good thing.

I have read in the newspapers about their rapid growth in the area and their increasing population. About their problems of not speaking English in the public elementary schools. I have read articles about their holidays and conventions, New Year Celebrations, etc. About the need for a Hmong officer on the police force who can speak their language and handle their cases. The same on radio and television.

I first became aware of Hmongs as a group seeing them on the streets and seeing the older family members walking around in the native clothes. This was several years ago. Now I see grocery stores for them and neighborhoods where they live.

My initial perceptions or impressions of them were no particular feelings one way or the other. Now, they seem to be more visible—more out in the open—more numerous. There are more articles in the paper about their culture and their needs.

Some have limited use of English language skills. I have not personally encountered any difficulties in working or living with Hmongs. I have no close friends who are Hmong.

I know very little about Hmong culture. I enjoy their art work and hand crafted items. They make beautiful wall hangings, ties, etc. I learned these things by reading articles in the paper or hearing others talk about them. One teacher at my college arranged an exhibit of their arts and crafts work in the library one time.

I can't always identify Hmongs from Laotians, Cambodians, Vietnamese, etc.

My attitudes or feelings about the Hmongs are sympathy, resentment, curiosity, apathy, admiration—for their art work and desire to go to college.

My attitudes about what the Hmong are like are that they are shy, hardship to our society, misfits in our culture, family oriented, a few are hard working, and industrious.

I'm tired of so many foreigners coming into our country and getting on welfare. We have such limited resources for those who pay taxes let alone those who don't. They just arrive here and expect help and handouts.

Respondent #22

I am a 20-year-old female business accountant. The reason the Hmong came to America is because they are running away from the communists, hoping to find a better society, education and better living condition.

I have direct/personal contact with Hmong. I'm a member of South East Asian, therefore I know a lot of Hmong people. I was once date a Hmong guy.

Hmong people are very nice, they are not aggressive. They are friendly, nice to everyone. The only thing that is negative about the Hmong is their culture. I hate when young teenager at the age of 15 get marry. They culture expect their children to marry early.

My overall experience with Hmong has been mixed. Positive: They are friendly to be with. Negative: Marry too early.

The only thing I heard about them in the newspaper (or radio or television) was Hmong New Year.

I first began to become aware of Hmong as a group when I first move to Fresno, and I attend High School. My initial perceptions or impressions of them was their lack of education, and most them tend not to work very hard.

I have not encountered any difficulties in communicating with Hmong, but a difficulty I have encountered is different point of view.

The Hmong could marry their own relative, but not anyone with the same last name. I learned this from a friend. My best friend nationally was Hmong.

I do not belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong.

My descriptive about the Hmong the culture is that they are very friendly and well manner. The only thing that they need to change was their culture.

I'm more and happy to have a Hmong person as a friend.

Respondent #23

I am a 42-year-old female in management. The Hmongs came to America in order to be free of the situation in Vietnam.

I had direct/personal contact with Hmongs at my previous work. I supervised their work. The ones I know are good workers, loyal people. I do not know or have negative comments to make about them. My overall experience with Hmongs has been positive.

From conversations with others I have heard that they are considered lower status than Vietnamese and other SouthEast Asians. In general, I would say other people I know have had positive experiences with Hmongs.

In the newspapers I have read articles about heritage and stitchery, etc. Cultural practices. On radio and television the things I have heard and seen are cultural.

I first became aware of Hmongs as a group when I supervised them. My initial impressions of them were good. My impressions have not changed over time. They are the same. I have not encountered any difficulties in communicating with Hmongs or in working with them.

What I know about Hmong culture is that they are basically farmer types, very little formal language training or history. I read these things, and the Hmongs told me.

I don't think the Hmong have been stereotyped in any way.

I belong to a church—the Episcopal Church—that has rendered help or assistance to the Hmong—Help with garden, pre-school, reading, etc.

My attitudes or feelings about the Hmongs are positive. I think the Hmongs are hard-working-family oriented, loyal. Everyone has a right to live in the USA.

Respondent #24

I am a 26-year-old female teacher. I would guess that the Hmong came to America for freedom as well as a better lifestyle.

I do not have direct/personal contact with Hmong, and I have not really had any personal experiences with them. I see them mostly on TV.

Some of the positive things I think about them is that they are hard workers and they have close knit families. But, they are on the lower end of the socio-economic scale and therefore considered less desirable. My overall experience with Hmong has been positive.

I saw on the news where the Hmong broadcast their own radio station in their native tongue. They tell about current events in the area as well as world events, so that the elderly Hmong can be well informed. The radio DJ. expressed how concerned his people are for the older Hmong simply because they never learn the English language and have a difficult time getting along.

I have heard others say that education is the only way out of their economic system—so they drive their kids to do very well. I would say other people I know have had negative experiences with the Hmong. The police told me that the "bad" part of town, or the "criminals" consisted mainly of Hmong.

I have not read newspaper stories about Hmong, but I do see or hear things about them on radio or television. The news about the Hmong radio station was on television.

I first became aware of Hmong as a group 3 years ago when I moved here. My initial perceptions or impressions were that they were hard workers and lower

socio-economic status. Now, that I have met and seen more Hmong~my perceptions are more positive.

I have not encountered any difficulties in communicating with, or living or working with Hmong.

I don't know much about Hmong culture. I think they are stereotyped as fieldworkers, poor.

My feelings about the Hmong are admiration, interested, pity. My attitudes about what the Hmong are like is that they are hard workers, some trouble-makers, family oriented, education oriented.

I feel Hmong do have a right to be here in America, but do not have a right to public funds such as welfare. I doubt if the public really knows much about the Hmong.

Respondent #25

I am a 52-year-old male teacher. The Hmong have come to America as an aftermath of the Vietnam War.

I do not have direct/personal contact with Hmong. Without any experience with Hmong, I have no opinion about them.

I have heard about the Hmong on television. I heard on local news broadcasts that they are having the "usual" acculturation problems of any immigrant group.

I first began to become aware of Hmong as a group as they began entering the San Joaquin Valley—directly after the Vietnam War. My initial perceptions or impressions were sympathy. My impressions have not changed over time.

I have not encountered any difficulties in communicating with Hmongs. I know little about Hmong culture. What I know I learned through conversation and via the news media. I do not belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong.

My feelings about the Hmong are sympathy. They are refugees who deserve patience, understanding and sympathy.

Respondent #26

I am a 27-year-old male student. The Hmongs have come to America because we fought [with?] them in the Vietnam War. They are considered the Hill billies of Laos. We left without finishing the war. They had to leave their country or die from the Northern Vietnamese. Many went to Thailand to wait for family and as a sanctuary. They were then brought here.

I do not have direct/personal contact with Hmongs. I have had no personal experience with them.

Some good things about the Hmongs are they are very good at survival skills; they work hard; they are overcoming a giant culture change. They need time to adapt. Which isn't bad. My overall experience with Hmongs has been positive. When I've asked them questions they take time to understand and answer me.

I have heard others say they are a happy, kind, simple people. In general, I would say other people I know have had both positive and negative experiences with Hmongs. Positive: persons in the church. Books I read. Negative: fishermen that say that they don't follow the fishing laws.

I have not read newspaper stories about the Hmongs. I've read books about the war. On radio or television I have just heard that the children are excelling in their studies by studying a lot.

I am not from Fresno. I'm from a farming town 1-1/2 [hours] away. The Hmongs fish there at the lakes. My initial perceptions or impressions of them were that they like to eat fish. Over time, I have become more aware of the great cultural difference and the shocks and changes they must overcome.

I have encountered a little difficulty in communicating with Hmongs. The ones that I have talked to were able to communicate in English though. Other difficulties in working or living with Hmongs: My neighbors are fishermen. They do resent the lack of law enforcement by fish and game when they violate the laws at the lake.

What I understand about Hmong culture is that everything has a spirit. Superstitions come from this. Many Buddhists. Strange way of stealing their prospective wife from the family. Big generation gap. I learned these things in books about the war, and talking with people.

The Hmongs have been stereotyped: they get a free house and car. Everyone lives together. They are poachers.

I belong to the LDS Church. It provides spiritual help to the Hmong, and welfare. I have not personally participated in helping projects.

My feelings about the Hmongs are that they have had many hardships. Many or all have lost family members. I feel sorrow for the pain and torture they must have went through. I admire their desire to go on living after all they have went through in Laos.

I think the Hmongs are hardworking, gentle, helpful, intelligent. I think that like all irrimigrants they need time to adapt. The children are adapted very well. With new generations they will fit just fine here in America.

Respondent #27

I am a 29-year-old female secretary. The Hmongs have come to America because of war in their country and poverty.

I have direct/personal contact with Hmongs at work—I've helped them at work. They are extremely persistent, determined and industrious. I don't like to characterize groups negatively.

My overall experience with Hmongs has been mixed, like anyone else. Just like everyone else; some were nice, some were obnoxious. They don't speak English. They are hard to understand. Their culture is so different.

Other people that I know have had mixed experiences with Hmongs. Mostly people comment on their language and their children.

I've read the story in the newspaper about the boy with club feet. I've seen news stories [on television] about their cultural events and we have several government agencies in Fresno who report on Southeast Asian people.

I first began to become aware of Hmongs as a group in about 1981 while a student at Fresno City College. My initial perceptions or impressions were that they're very small people; very reticent at times. Now I think they are very industrious and diligent.

I have encountered difficulties in communicating with Hmongs. Their English is a bit broken, but I have experience with that. I know that Hmong culture is very family

centered and male dominated. I learned these things from the newspaper and other school personnel. I do not belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong.

My feelings about the Hmongs are admiration, curiosity, sympathy.

Everyone has a right to be anywhere they choose to be.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF EXPERIENTIAL TEXTS

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the self-descriptions provided by study participants of their personal participation in discourse about the Hmong.¹ The analysis is based in Colaizzi's phenomenological method discussed in Chapter 1. Its objective is to unravel, to expose, and to create an understanding of the discursive processes by which study participants constructed their opinions about Hmong newcomers in the Fresno area. Further, the discussion seeks to make explicit the reasoning by which conclusions about these processes are reached.

Demographics of Respondents

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide the demographic information of age, gender, occupation, and age distribution by decade for the study respondents.²

^hese self-descriptions are contained in the experiential texts in Chapter 4, as well as in the verbatim transcription of all participants' responses to the study questionnaire in Appendix L.

^able 5.1 also assigns a respondent number to each of the study participants. For the sake of brevity, the letter "R" together with the number symbol refers to specific respondents. (For example, R#1 refers to Respondent #1.) Similarly, the letter "Q" with a number symbol is occasionally used where appropriate to refer to a specific question in the survey to which participants responded. (For example, Q#1 refers to Question #1.) See Appendix L for the full list of questions and answers.

Table 5.1

Personal Profiles of Respondents

(Appendix L, Questions 1 and 2)

RESPONDENT	AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION
#1	52-year-old	female	librarian
#2	23-year-old	male	student
#3	36-year-old	male	student
#4	59-year-old	male	college administrator
#5	43-year-old	female	secondary English teacher
#6	23-year-old	female	college student/secretary
#7	26-year-old	male	salesman, hardware store
#8	60-year-old	female	housewife/school teacher
#9	23-year-old	female	student
#10	45-year-old	female	teacher
#11	37-year-old	female	program development assistant
#12	26-year-old	male	truck loader
#13	66-year old	female	housewife
#14	46-year-old	female	student
#15	23-year-old	female	administrative secretary
#16	51-year-old	female	teacher
#17	22-year-old	female	student nurse
#18	48-year-old	female	secretary
#19	44-year-old	male	librarian
#20	26-year-old	male	education
#21	50-year-old	male	community college librarian
#22	20-year-old	female	business accountant
#23	42-year-old	female	management
#24	26-year-old	female	teacher
#25	52-year-old	male	teacher
#26	27-year-old	male	student
#27	29-year-old	female	secretary

Table 5.2

Summary of Demographic Information

About Respondents

AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATIONS
Age Range: 23-66 years old	Female: 17	6 Students R#: 2, 3, 6, 9, 14, 26
Average Age: 38 years old	Male: 10	5 Teachers R#: 5, 10, 16, 24, 25
Age Distribution by Decade:		3 Librarians R#: 1, 19, 21
20-30 = 12		3 Secretaries R#: 15, 18, 27
31-40 = 2		3 College Administrators R#: 4, 11, 20
41-50 = 7		2 Housewives R#: 8, 13
51-60 = 5		1 Business Manager R#: 23
61-70 = 1		1 Business Accountant R#: 22
		1 Student Nurse R#: 17
		1 Truck Loader R#: 12
		1 Hardware Salesman R#: 7
		* Respondents #6 and #8 are listed under the first category indicated in their responses. (See Table 5.1.)

Respondents' First Awareness of the Hmong

Perhaps one of the most immediate impressions that arises from reading the respondents' descriptions of their experience with the Hmong concerns their first moment of awareness of them. Respondents were asked in Question #15: When did you first begin to become aware of Hmong as a group? (Or when did you first begin to notice their presence in Fresno?) The responses to this question reveal that the recognition that the Hmong had come to Fresno gradually seeped, rather than leaped, into respondents' consciousness. For example, Respondent #10 (a 45-year-old female teacher) says she is not sure she can place a time when she first began to become aware of the Hmong and Respondent #21 (a 50-year-old male community college librarian) says he first became aware of the Hmong when "seeing them on the streets and seeing the older family

members walking around in the native clothes. This was several years ago. Now I see grocery stores for them and neighborhoods where they live" (Appendix L, Q#15, R#21).

Awareness that arose from "seeing" was apparently the common experience of the respondents—they noticed the Hmong on the streets, in the schools, at work, or as a result of community adaptation to their presence. Respondent #5 (a 43-year-old female teacher who was formerly a hospital worker) says, for example, that she first became aware of the Hmong "at Valley Children's Hospital as patients and in my neighborhood as my local grocery store began to adjust its merchandise to meet their needs" (Appendix L, Q#15, R#5).

None of the respondents mention learning of or hearing about the arrival of the Hmong through the media or through interpersonal discussions with others. Rather, a perception of their presence gradually developed through personal observation and encounter. There was no cognitive preparation or context within which to place them. After seeing them and becoming aware of their presence, respondents incrementally constructed personal frames of knowledge and opinion about the Hmong based on the information gleaned from various discourse systems.

Despite the lack of prior knowledge specifically about the Hmong, however, respondents did have preconceived judgments, convictions, and beliefs about other issues, and about classes or categories of people in general, that influenced their individual and collective opinion formation processes about these newcomers. They had preconceptions about immigrants, about rights of access to America and its resources, about people on welfare, about the merits of helping people who have suffered or who are in serious need,

about other Southeast Asian groups of whom they were previously aware, and/or about minorities in general. Respondent #8 says:

There is no doubt about the fact that the money from our tax-dollars goes to support them. Southeast Asians: They have a high birth rate. Costs astronomical here in Fresno for support of high-influx of Southeast Asians. Southeast Asians in general: some areas where they live become strewn with rubbish, sidewalks and walkways are heavily soiled. They have large families and often open their homes to relatives who need help~so~many people in small area. (Q#27, R#8)

In a contrasting tone, Respondent #1 says:

They have as much right to be here as I. My ancestors crossed the Atlantic several generations ago. In another couple of generations only their physical characteristics will distinguish them so quickly are they adapting. I always wonder, "How would it be if I were in their shoes? Could I do as well?" They seem to be less burdensome to our tax dollars than many others. I think we better learn to pronounce their names; they may be running this country. Let's hope they do a better job than our current representatives. They appear to be far more honest, less deceitful, and hardworking. (Q#28, R#1)

Further examples of preconceptions that shaped opinions about the Hmong are from Respondent #23 who says, "Everyone has a right to live in the USA" (Q#28, R#23), and Respondent #21 who says: "I'm tired of so many foreigners coming into our country and getting on welfare. We have such limited resources for those who pay taxes let alone those who don't. They just arrive here and expect help and handouts" (Q#28, R#21).

Respondent Knowledge About Hmong

History and Culture

Respondents were asked in the study questionnaire what they knew about why the Hmong had come to America (Question #3). The question was designed to reveal their perceptions and understanding of the historical circumstances that brought the Hmong to

dwell among them. Although a few respondents (such as R#5 and R#8) displayed quite specific knowledge about the events that led to Hmong resettlement in America, and a few (such as R#2, R#15, R#16, and R#24) had little or no definite information, most respondents expressed a sometimes vague understanding that the Hmong had come due to factors related to the Vietnam War and Hmong involvement with United States military efforts there. (See Appendix M.)

The following quotations from Respondents #5 and #8 are examples of responses that reflect extensive knowledge of Hmong history as compared to other less detailed answers.

My understanding is that at least the first wave of Hmong immigration was a result of agreements with Hmong tribes made during the Vietnam war which resulted in their endangerment in the region after our withdrawal. Subsequent immigration is from refugees and probably family members. (Appendix L, Q#3, R#5)

Hmong are descendants of Chinese who invaded Laos highlands centuries ago. When Chinese went home some troops were left behind. Mixed with local culture in the highlands of Laos. (Appendix L, Q#20, R#8)

In addition to knowledge about Hmong history, respondents were also asked in Question #20 what they knew about Hmong culture. Again, the range of their knowledge was wide. (See Appendix M.) Answers range, for example, from "Nothing" (to indicate nothing known about Hmong culture) to evidence of fairly explicit and detailed knowledge, such as the comments by Respondents #5 and #26:

... the tribal and family hierarchy is central. There are still fiercely held old traditions and even superstitions. I am extremely fond of the handicrafts-especially textiles. (Appendix L, Q#20, R#5)

Everything has a spirit. Superstitions come from this. Many Buddhists. Strange way of stealing their prospective wife from the family. Big generation gap. (Appendix L, Q#20, R#26)

The Hmong cultural characteristics about which respondents were most widely knowledgeable relate to Hmong family life, their religious and medical practices, and their farm-based culture. (See Appendix M.)

Sources of Knowledge About Hmong Culture

Question #21 asked respondents how they gained their knowledge about Hmong culture. Answers to this question are especially important because they go to the heart of the study's inquiry into the discourse systems that informed respondents' opinions about the Hmong immigrants. Responses to the question can be grouped into four discourse categories: personal experience *with* the Hmong (including observation of the Hmong); interpersonal communication *about* the Hmong (discussions with non-Hmong friends and associates); media discourse about the Hmong; and reading.³ (See Appendix M.)

More respondents indicate in answer to Question #21 that they learned about Hmong culture from interpersonal communication (talking with other people about the Hmong) than they did from any other sources. Interpersonal communication is attributed 16 times as a source of knowledge about Hmong culture; personal experience and

^ i s last category has been included to accommodate reading of materials other than newspapers for those four respondents who listed reading as a source of their knowledge. Respondent #7 says he learned about Hmong culture from "reading history books, and other books." Similarly, Respondent #26 says he gleaned his knowledge from "books about war." Respondents #8 and #16 attribute simply "reading"-without an indication of what they read.

observation are attributed 8 times; media discourse is attributed 6 times; and reading is attributed 4 times. (See Appendix M.) That respondents attribute their source of knowledge so heavily to interpersonal communication about the Hmong (as opposed to the media, personal experience with the Hmong, or general reading) is significant.

All of the respondents restrict themselves to one or two attributions of sources of knowledge about Hmong culture; none mention more than two. Of the 23 respondents who answered the question, 12 mention one source, and 11 mention two. A comparison of these responses yields interesting insights into respondents' perceptions about the discursive sources of their knowledge.

Of those 12 respondents who attribute only one source of cultural knowledge about the Hmong, 4 cite personal experience as their source, 6 cite interpersonal communication, 1 cites the media, and 1 cites reading. (See Appendix M.) Interpersonal communication about the Hmong, then, is the most frequently mentioned source for this group citing only one source.

In the responses of those 11 study participants who mention two sources of cultural knowledge, however, interpersonal communication is mentioned first only once. (See Appendix M.) Media communication is mentioned first four times, personal experience with the Hmong is mentioned first three times, and reading is mentioned first once. These responses are quite different from those in which only one source of knowledge is mentioned. In the two-source group interpersonal communication is hardly mentioned whereas it is the most important source for the one-source group. Further, for

the two-source group, the media are the source of knowledge attributed first most often, followed closely by personal experience with the Hmong.

Nevertheless, of these 11 respondents who mention two sources of cultural knowledge, all but 1 (R#23) cite interpersonal communication as one of their two sources of knowledge. (R#23 attributes the media first and personal experience with the Hmong second.) Further, all respondents who mention two sources of knowledge (with the exception of R#25) cite interpersonal communication in their *second* attribution. (R#25 mentions it first.)

For those respondents, then, who cite two sources of cultural knowledge (with the exception of R#23), interpersonal communication is always one of the two sources. Further, for those citing two sources (with the exception of R#25), the second source is always interpersonal communication, and the first source may come from any of the other discourse systems.

These responses demonstrate that regardless of the other discourse systems engaged in by participants citing more than one source, interpersonal communication (or talking with friends and associates) was a key source of their knowledge about the Hmong.⁴

⁴The importance of interpersonal communication to opinion formation, regardless of reliance on other discourse systems, is also true for Respondent #23, although she fails to cite it in her answer to Question #21. This is apparent in her response to Question #11 in which she says she has heard from other people that the Hmong "are considered lower status than Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians." Similarly, in reading beyond Question #21 to the experiential texts as a whole, it is clear that those four respondents (R#6, R#18, R#19, R#24) who did not answer this question also engaged in extensive interpersonal communication about the Hmong.

It is important to note that the respondents were not asked in Question #21 to list their sources by order of importance or influence; they were simply asked: How did you learn these things about Hmong culture? Even though there may be no significance at all in their mentioning interpersonal communication second rather than first in their recounting of the sources of their knowledge, it is nevertheless of interest. A discussion later in the chapter will show that talking about the Hmong with others is not considered by study respondents to be an entirely valid source of knowledge despite their extensive engagement in and reliance on it. Perhaps in responding as they do to this question the respondents are tacitly exhibiting a belief that the media and personal experience are more legitimate sources of knowledge than interpersonal communication (or rumor). However, they nevertheless acknowledge interpersonal communication as an important source of information for them by making mention of it, albeit in a secondary position.

Another observation about Question #21 is that respondents were not prompted by the wording of the question to talk about interpersonal communication, personal experience, or media communication.⁵ The question was entirely open-ended. That their responses fall so naturally within this triad suggested by Lasorsa and Wanta (1990) of the components of public discourse that produce public opinion validates the usefulness of this conceptualization of the discursive categories that inform the opinion-formation process. (See discussion of Lasorsa & Wanta (1990) in Chapter 1.)

⁵Reading was singled out as a category for the discussion above because it was specifically mentioned by respondents in answer to Question #21; but inasmuch as books and magazines are appropriately conceptualized as mass media, reading is properly subsumed into the media component of public discourse.

Respondent Participation in Discourse Systems

Because the study assumes that it is discourse that informs and creates opinion and because it seeks to discover the systems of discourse in which respondents participated as well as the extent of their participation in those discourse systems, it is important to read their experiences closely for a thorough understanding of the breadth, depth, and dynamics of their discursive experience.

Comparisons of respondents' individual involvement with the three systems of discourse (interpersonal communication, personal experience, and media communication) reveal a range of participation within each system that can be roughly described as (a) no participation, (b) some or limited participation, and (c) extensive participation. When respondents' experiences are read for these levels of participation within each of the three discourse categories, a discourse profile emerges for each respondent as shown in Table 5.3. These discourse profiles expose the diversity of discursive experience about the Hmong among individual study respondents, as well as the patterns that emerge in the discursive experience of the respondents as a group.⁶

determinations as to how to locate individual respondents within the framework of discourse categories are based on a close reading of the responses to questions directly pertaining to the three categories of discourse systems and on information about these categories arising from respondents' answers to other questions as well.

Decisions about how to categorize the extent of respondents' personal experience with the Hmong are based on evaluation of the depth and extent of experience reported in Questions #4, #5, #6, #9, #10, #15, #16, #18, and #19, all of which directly or indirectly address issues of personal contact. See Appendix L for wording of these questions and those discussed below.

Categorization of interpersonal communication about the Hmong is based on a close reading of responses to Questions #11, #12, #22, and #23. Responses to these questions reveal the participants' ability to discuss the experience others have had with the Hmong and the opinions others hold about the Hmong; they also describe the

The discourse system in which respondents participated most extensively was interpersonal communication, or talking with other people about the Hmong. By comparison, the group as a whole participated at a lower level in personal experience with the Hmong and in media discourse about them.

Inasmuch as interpersonal communication about the Hmong was clearly the discourse system in which respondents as a group participated most extensively, it is a reasonable assumption that this discourse system was also the most important contributor to the creation of opinion about them. This assumption is validated by participants' own identification (in response to Question #21 discussed above) of interpersonal discourse as the source of their cultural knowledge about the Hmong.

Table 5.4 is another way to group and to visualize respondent levels of participation in each of the three systems of discourse. Here, the information contained in the personal discourse profiles is charted into discourse categories. With this table as a tool, individual respondents can be tracked in each of the discourse systems, their experiences can be compared to that of other individual respondents, and patterns in the discursive experience of the respondents taken together can be identified.

respondents' organizational activity on behalf of the Hmong, which implies having talked about them with others.

Categorization of attentiveness to media discourse about the Hmong is based on the depth and breadth of respondent answers to Questions #13 and #14, as well as on the mention of the media in answers to other questions.

Table 5.3

Respondent Discourse Profiles

RESPONDENT ^a	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG	MEDIA DISCOURSE ABOUT HMONG
#1	Extensive	Extensive	Limited
#2	Extensive	Limited	None
#3	None	Limited	Limited
#4	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#5	Extensive	Extensive	Limited
#6	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#7	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#8	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive
#9	Limited	Extensive	Extensive
#10	Limited	Extensive	Extensive
#11	Limited	Extensive	None
#12	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#13	None	Limited	Limited
#14	Extensive	Extensive	None
#15	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#16	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#17	Limited	Extensive	None
#18	None	Extensive	None
#19	Limited	Extensive	Extensive
#20	Limited	Extensive	Extensive
#21	Limited	Extensive	Extensive
#22	Extensive	Limited	Limited
#23	Extensive	Extensive	Limited
#24	None	Extensive	Limited
#25	None	Limited	Limited
#26	None	Extensive	Limited
#27	Limited	Extensive	Extensive
TOTALS	NONE: 6 LIMITED: 14 EXTENSIVE: 7	NONE: 0 LIMITED: 5 EXTENSIVE: 22	NONE: 5 LIMITED: 15 EXTENSIVE: 7

Table 5.4

Respondent Participation in Discourse Categories

EXTENT OF EXPOSURE	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG (Question #: 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 19)	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG (Question*: 11, 12, 22, 23)	MEDIA DISCOURSE ABOUT HMONG (Question #: 13, 14)
NONE	Respondent #: 3, 13, 18, 24, 25, 26 (6 Respondents) A.	Respondent #: None (0 Respondents) D	Respondent #: 2, 11, 14, 17, 18 (5 Respondents) Gr
SOME/LIMITED	Respondent #: 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 27 (14 Respondents) B	Respondent #: 2, 3, 13, 22, 25 (5 Respondents) E	Respondent #: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 (15 Respondents) H
EXTENSIVE	Respondent #: 1, 2, 5, 8, 14, 22, 23 (7 Respondents) C	Respondent #: 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27 (22 Respondents) F	Respondent #: 8, 9, 10, 19, 20, 21, 27 (7 Respondents) I

The most glaring observation that arises from a glance at the interpersonal communication column of Table 5.4 is that the vast majority of respondents participated in extensive interpersonal communication about the Hmong and that (unlike personal contact and media discourse) *all* respondents participated in this category of discourse. This is the only discourse category with this concentration of extensive participation.

The 5 respondents who, unlike the 22 others, participated in only limited interpersonal communication about the Hmong (category E) had diverse experiences among themselves in their personal contact with the Hmong. All of these 5 either

participated extensively in personal experience with the Hmong~or not at all. None had limited personal experience with them. Nevertheless (other than Respondent #2 who did not respond to the media questions) all of these 5 respondents participated in limited media discourse. Those who engaged in limited interpersonal communication about the Hmong, then, also had limited media involvement, regardless of whether they had extensive personal contact with the Hmong or none at all.

This relationship among discourse systems may indicate that those who were not particularly interested in talking about the Hmong with others (despite personal contact or lack of it) were also not particularly interested in being extensively attentive to media discourse about them. This category of respondents apparently did not have strong information-seeking interests about the Hmong. This relative disinterest is reflected in their comparatively terse answers to Question #26 which asked what descriptive words they would use to describe their attitudes or feelings about the Hmong. For example, R#2 gave no response, R#13 said "Disinterest," and R#25 said "Sympathy."

Another correlational pattern that emerges from Table 5.4 is that despite the identical quantity (7) of respondents who had extensive personal contact and experience with the Hmong (category C) and those who had extensive media attention (category I), there is not much overlap as to the particular individuals who appear in these two categories. Of the 7 respondents in each of these categories, only 1 (R#8) appears in both. This indicates that, taken as a whole, those respondents who relied extensively on media discourse about the Hmong did not have extensive personal contact with them; and, conversely, those who had extensive personal contact with the Hmong were not

extensively attentive to media discourse about them. For these respondents, then, extensive participation in one of these two discourse systems did not necessarily imply or lead to extensive participation in the other. Rather, those without extensive personal experience with the Hmong may have turned deliberately to the media to satisfy their interest and need for information, and those who did have extensive personal experience did not feel that need.

Regardless of the level of their media and personal communication experiences, all but two (R#2, R#22) of the respondents in these categories (extensive media discourse and extensive personal experience) participated extensively in talking with friends and associates about the Hmong. Thus, most of these respondents participated extensively in two of the three categories of discourse. They either participated in extensive personal experience with the Hmong combined with extensive interpersonal communication or in extensive media discourse combined with extensive interpersonal communication. Their extensive participation in two of the three systems of discourse signifies that these individuals may have deliberately used particular or selected discourse systems to satisfy their information needs about the Hmong newcomers.

Respondent Participation in Discourse

System Combinations

There are 27 possible discourse combinations within the categories established in Table 5.4 in which levels of participation in the three discourse systems of personal experience, interpersonal communication, and media discourse are categorized as none, limited, and extensive. These discourse combinations are charted in Table 5.5 to visually

illustrate the patterns in discursive experience that emerge from a close reading of respondents' narrative texts.

None of the respondents appear within 16 of the 27 category combinations, and several of the combinations are representative of the experience of only 1, 2, or 3 respondents. The most frequent combinations of discursive experience are either (a) limited personal experience combined with extensive interpersonal communications and *limited* media discourse (combination BFH, Table 5.5) or (b) limited personal experience combined with extensive interpersonal communications and *extensive* media discourse (combination BFI, Table 5.5). Six respondents fall within each of these combinations. Both of these discourse combinations include limited personal experience and extensive interpersonal communications. They vary only as to the level of media exposure.

The frequency of respondent experience in the first of these combinations (BFH) does not come as a surprise in that these are the categories of discourse identified earlier in this discussion as those in which the preponderance of respondents participated (see Table 5.4). However, the frequency of respondent experience in the second of these discourse combinations, which includes extensive media discourse (BFI), is unanticipated by sheer numbers of participants. Only 7 respondents participated extensively in media discourse, and 15 participated in limited media discourse. A review of Table 5.4 alone, without the benefit of Table 5.5, would lead one to believe that the predominant experience for the respondents in this study would be only the discourse combination which included limited and not extensive media discourse.

Table 5.5
Distribution of Respondents in all Possible
Discourse Category Combinations
(Based on Table 5.4)

ADG: NONE N= 0	BDG: NONE N = 0	CDG: NONE N = 0
ADH: NONE N= 0	BDH: NONE N = 0	CDH: NONE N = 0
ADI: NONE N = 0	BDI: NONE N = 0	CDI: NONE N = 0
AEG: NONE N= 0	BEG: NONE N = 0	CEG: R#2 N = 1
AEH: R# 3, 13 N= 2	BEH: NONE N = 0	CEH: R# 22 N = 1
AEI: NONE N= 0	BEI: NONE N = 0	CEI: NONE N = 0
AFG: R# 18 N= 1	BFG: R# 11, 17 N = 2	CFG: R# 1, 14 N = 2
AFH: R# 24, 25, 26 N= 3	BFH: R# 4, 6, 7, 12, 15, 16 N = 6	CFH: R# 5, 23 N = 2
AFI: NONE N = 0	BFI: R# 9, 10, 19, 20, 21, 27 N = 6	CFI: R# 8 N = 1
A= No personal experience with Hmong	D= No interpersonal communication about Hmong	G= No media discourse about Hmong
B= Limited personal experience with Hmong	E= Limited Interpersonal communication about Hmong	H= Limited media discourse about Hmong
C= Extensive personal experience with Hmong	F= Extensive interpersonal communication about Hmong	I= Extensive media experience about Hmong

The unexpected equivalency in numbers of respondents in the BFH and the BFI category combinations is explained by the differences in *personal experience* with the Hmong among the extensive media respondents versus the limited media respondents. Personal experience with the Hmong for the limited media respondents is widely diverse, thus distributing limited media respondents into several discourse category combinations. In contrast, personal experience with the Hmong for the extensive media respondents is concentrated in the limited category. This relationship between extensive media exposure about the Hmong and limited personal experience with them has been noted and discussed above.

Table 5.5 helps to illustrate that in relation to the study group as a whole this combination of experience (BFI) is significant. The consistency of extensive media exposure (which is not the norm for the study respondents) combined with limited personal contact with the Hmong makes this combination of discourse especially telling. It suggests a very solid relationship between these two categories of discourse for these respondents and raises a question as to the reason for this relationship. One explanation might be that these particular individuals are more attentive to media discourse in general than are the other study participants. Another explanation, which has been discussed previously, is that this group of people, having limited personal experience with the Hmong, may have turned deliberately to the media to fulfill their personal information needs about them. Their participation in extensive talk about the Hmong with others also indicates that they had an interest which they may have sought to satisfy through interpersonal discourse. In talking extensively with others, however, they were not unique; 22 of the 27 respondents did the same. In turning to extensive media discourse they were a unique group, and enough of them did so to make their discursive experience one of the most solid concentrations of discourse combinations emerging from the study.

Two other clusters of similar experience are also illustrated by Table 5.5. The first is in the AFG and AFH categories in which there is no personal experience with the Hmong, combined with extensive talk about them, and little or no media discourse. For this group, information and impressions gleaned from talking with others about the Hmong were the only meaningful discourse informing their opinions. Personal experience with the Hmong was especially lacking.

The final concentration of discursive experience (CFG and CFH), however, represents a nearly opposite position in terms of personal contact with the Hmong, although levels of participation in the other discourse levels remain the same. There is extensive personal experience with the Hmong, combined with extensive interpersonal talk about them and limited or no media discourse. Opinions for this group would be informed not only by listening to and talking with others but also by encountering the Hmong personally.

The greatest single similarity among respondents' discursive experience is their participation in extensive interpersonal talk about the Hmong. The greatest diversities in their discursive experience relate to their levels of attentiveness to media discourse and to their personal experience and contact with the Hmong.

In addition to showing the clusters of most common discursive experience for the respondents in this study, Table 5.5 also shows the range of individual and unique experience among them.

Respondent #18 (AFG) (a 48-year-old female secretary), for example, had no personal experience with the Hmong and reports no media exposure about them, yet she talked extensively with others about them.

Respondent #2 (CEG) (a 23-year-old male student) had extensive personal experience with the Hmong, but displays no media attentiveness about them and only limited personal communication about them.

Respondent #8 (CFI) (a 60-year-old female housewife/school teacher) is the only respondent in the study who had extensive personal contact with the Hmong and extensive

attentiveness to media discourse about them and who also participated extensively in interpersonal communication with others about them.

In contrast to Respondent #8's extensive participation in discourse in all categories, Respondents #3 (a 36-year-old male student) and #13 (a 66-year-old female housewife) display the lowest levels of participation in discourse (AEH) among this group of respondents. Even these individuals, however, both of whom report virtually no personal contact with the Hmong, talked about the Hmong with others to some extent and read or heard about them in the media, even though in a limited way.

Summary of Respondent Participation in Discourse

This analysis of discourse participation by the 27 study respondents has allowed insight into individual discursive experience about the Hmong, as well as patterns in the discursive experience of the respondents taken together.

The analysis has shown that although there were some individuals who reported no personal contact with the Hmong and some who revealed no participation in media discourse about them, every respondent in the study, with no exceptions, participated at either extensive or limited levels in discussing the Hmong with other people in the community. Individual discursive experience varied widely, and no one category of discourse exclusively informed respondents' knowledge and opinions about the Hmong. Nevertheless, the vast majority (22 of 27) of the respondents did participate extensively in interpersonal communication about the Hmong, and this was the only discursive category with this concentration of extensive participation.

The discourse *combinations* in which there was the greatest commonality or clustering of respondent discursive experience were: (a) to have some, but only limited, personal experience with the Hmong, (b) to talk about the Hmong with others extensively, and (c) to be either somewhat or extensively attentive to media discourse about them.

There were also some small clusters of similar discursive experience among respondents in which there was no personal experience with the Hmong, combined with extensive talk about them, and little or no media discourse, or in which there was extensive personal experience with the Hmong, combined with extensive interpersonal talk about them, and limited or no media discourse.

Beyond these major conclusions, some other correlational patterns also emerge in the analysis.

1. Those respondents who had limited or no contact with the Hmong relied more on interpersonal communication than on media discourse for their knowledge about them.
2. Those with extensive personal contact with the Hmong, taken as a group, also participated in extensive interpersonal communication about them, but only limited media discourse.
3. Those who participated in extensive media discourse also participated in extensive interpersonal communication about the Hmong but had only limited personal experience with them.
4. Those who engaged in limited interpersonal communication about the Hmong also had limited media involvement, regardless of the level of their personal contact with the Hmong.
5. Those with limited or no media exposure participated extensively in interpersonal communication about the Hmong, regardless of the level of their personal experience with them.

Relationship Between Discursive Experience
and Sources of Knowledge

Respondents as a group predominantly attribute their source of knowledge about Hmong culture to interpersonal communication, or talking with friends and associates about the Hmong, rather than to the media, personal experience with the Hmong, or general reading. Because it is assumed that the discourse in which people participate most will contribute most to their opinions about and perceptions of an issue, it is of interest to explore the correlation between respondents' reports about their sources of knowledge about the Hmong, and the level of their participation in each category of discourse.

Six of the study respondents (R#1, R#5, R#9, R#10, R#14, R#23) participated extensively in two discourse systems. All 6 attribute their cultural knowledge, in either their first or second attributions, to discourse systems in which they are categorized as having participated extensively. Eight respondents participated extensively in only one discourse system and attribute only one source of cultural knowledge. Five of the 8 (R#2, R#4, R#11, R#17, R#22) attribute their cultural knowledge to the discourse systems in which they are categorized as having participated extensively. Of the remaining 3, however, 2 (R#12, R#15) make knowledge attributions to discourse systems in which they are categorized as having limited participation, and 1 (R#7) attributes knowledge claims to unidentified reading.

Speculations about causes of the discrepancy for these 3 respondents in which extensive participation in discourse categories and attributions of knowledge do not

correlate might include miscategorization of levels of discourse participation on the part of the researcher, or nondisclosure of full discursive experience on the part of the respondents. Some respondents, however, may perceive discourse systems in which they did not participate extensively to have been nevertheless most informative. An example of the identification of the most informative discourse is exemplified by Respondent #8, the only respondent who participated extensively in all three discourse systems. She attributes her sources of cultural knowledge first to "reading" and then to interpersonal communication.

Despite the few exceptions, however, in most cases those respondents categorized by the researcher as having participated extensively in one or more of the discourse systems also personally identified those particular systems as the sources of their cultural knowledge. This corroborates the assumption that the discourse systems in which people participate most will be most influential in informing and shaping their thinking and opinions about an issue. It also lends credence to the study's methods of close reading and analysis of the experiential texts and to the validity of the categorization of respondents' discursive experience.

Discourse Systems Providing Extensive Knowledge

About Hmong History and Culture

In addition to the relationship between discursive experience and sources of knowledge, a close reading and analysis of the experiential texts allow insight into which discourse systems provided extensive knowledge about Hmong history and culture for these respondents. When discursive experience and levels of knowledge are read together

(see Appendix M) those respondents (R#1, R#4, R#5, R#7, R#8, R#22, R#26) who had specific or extensive knowledge about Hmong history and culture had varied experiences as to personal interaction with the Hmong (4 with extensive contact, 2 with limited contact, 1 with no contact); but 6 of the 7 (all but R#22) participated in extensive interpersonal communication about them. Of special note is that only 1 (R#8) of the 7 respondents with extensive knowledge was extensively attentive to media discourse about the Hmong, and the other 6 all had limited media discourse participation. In contrast, 4 of the 7 had extensive personal experience with the Hmong, 2 had limited experience, and 1 had none.

Among the conclusions that can be drawn, then, are that specific and extensive information about the Hmong was available in interpersonal communication with friends and associates and that this was the primary source of historical and cultural information about the Hmong for respondents who exhibited extensive knowledge about Hmong history and culture. Personal experience with the Hmong also provided extensive historical and cultural knowledge. The media, however, were not a primary source of historical and cultural information about the Hmong for these well-informed respondents.

Respondent Experience and the Experience of Others

With the Hmong

The chapter thus far has analyzed the discursive experience of study participants by discussing their first awareness of the Hmong, the historical and cultural knowledge they had accumulated about the Hmong at the time of the study, the discursive sources to which they personally attributed their knowledge about Hmong culture, the extent of

their participation in each of the three discourse systems, and the discourse systems that provided extensive knowledge about Hmong history and culture. In this section, the discussion will move to a closer examination of respondents' personal experience with the Hmong. It will also examine respondents' characterization of the personal experience that their friends and associates had with the Hmong.⁷

Question #9 asked: Would you say your overall experience with Hmong has been generally positive, negative, or mixed? In response, 25 study participants specifically characterize their overall experience with the Hmong within these categories. Twenty-one respondents indicate that their personal experience with the Hmong was positive, none indicate negative, and 6 indicate mixed. (See Appendix M.)

In addition to questions about their own experiences and personal contact, respondents were also asked Question #12: In general, would you say other people that you know have had positive, negative, or mixed experiences with Hmong? Why? Only 8 respondents characterize others' experience with the Hmong as positive; 6 say it was

⁷Question #4 asked respondents: Do you have direct/personal contact with Hmong? Eight of the 27 respondents report no contact in response to this question (Appendix M, Table M.8). It is apparent from information that arises in subsequent questions, however, that these answers are somewhat misleading, and that several of them actually had limited contact, if only through observation. Respondent #9 says, for example, "I have seen them around the school campus. They seem to keep to themselves for the most part. . . . The Hmong I've seen at church functions seem very humble and sweet." That these respondents did have some personal experience with the Hmong if only through observation, despite their claims of no contact, is also evidenced by responses to Question #9 in which 25 of the 27 respondents are able to characterize the nature of their experiences with the Hmong. Of the eight respondents who indicate no contact with the Hmong in response to Question #4 (Appendix M, Table M.8), six nevertheless describe their contact with the Hmong in Question #9 as positive (Table 5.6). (Two did not respond.)

negative, and 12 say it was mixed. (See Appendix M.) Compared to their characterizations of their own personal experiences as generally positive, this is a rather dramatic shift.

Responses to this question provide a window through which to view personal contact with the Hmong among members of the broader receiving community and beyond the respondents themselves. Further, they provide information about respondents' participation in interpersonal communication (talking with others) about the Hmong and about the tone of that discourse.

Responses to Question #12 may also be illustrative of a phenomenon in which respondents attribute experience and opinion to others that they are reluctant to attribute to themselves. Even though there is no way to assess their motivations in answering any of the questions as they did, their comments (which report that friends and associates had a much more negative experience with the Hmong than did the respondents themselves) might indicate that respondents were uncomfortable in characterizing their own experiences with the Hmong as negative but did not have the same compunctions against attaching negative implications to the experiences of others.

Another possibility is that these answers might be attributable not to respondent reluctance to make negative comments about their own experience but to their candid reflection of the actual stories they heard from others in which others communicated largely negative experiences. This would be a logical conclusion based on respondent reports of the negative comments they heard from others about the Hmong. (See responses to Question #12, for example.) If this is the case, it would indicate that the

bulk of interpersonal communication and information about the Hmong in which respondents participated or of which they were recipients was largely negative in nature.

A close examination of responses to Questions #9 and #12 (summarized in Appendix M) also reveals a clear correlation between respondents' characterization of their own experience with the Hmong and that of others' experience. For example, of the 6 respondents reporting mixed personal experience (the most negative of the responses given for personal experience), none report a positive experience with the Hmong for others. Three of the mixed personal experience group (R#1, R#7, R#17) report negative experience for others, and 2 (R#15, R#27) report mixed experience for others. (Respondent #22 did not respond to Q#12.) Further, all 8 of those who report positive experience for others (R#3, R#4, R#5, R#8, R#10, R#12, R#14, R#23) also report positive experience for themselves.

These correlations reveal a cognitive blending or equating of personal experience with the experience of others. Those with positive personal experience report positive experience for others, and those with more negative experience report negative experience for others. This suggests the cross-functional influences of the opinions of others on respondents' views or on the ways in which they interpret their own experiences with the Hmong and/or the influence of respondents' views on the ways in which they interpret and report the experiences of others. These relationships between respondents' opinions, interpersonal communication with others, and assessments of others opinions are illustrative of the ways in which public opinion is a product of community discursive processes (Price, 1988, p. 661).

In another related issue, responses to Question #9 show that personal experience with the Hmong is characterized by the vast majority of respondents to be positive, regardless of the discourse systems in which they participated. (See discourse profiles, Table 5.3.) It is, therefore, of interest to explore the discursive experience of the respondents in the minority who indicated "mixed" personal experience with the Hmong—the most negative characterization of experience with the Hmong expressed by participants in response to Question #9. (Respondents #1 and #15 will not be considered because they indicated both mixed and positive. Those who remain in the purely mixed column are therefore Respondents #7, #17, #22, and #27.) A composite discursive profile for these respondents, taken together, who reported "mixed" experience with the Hmong is that although their interpersonal communication about the Hmong was extensive, their personal experience with them and media exposure about them were actually limited. They based their negative opinions, then, not on personal experience with the Hmong or media discourse about them but on the negative accounts they heard about the Hmong from others.

Question #10 asked respondents to give some examples of their positive, negative, or mixed experiences. It was anticipated that they might be hesitant to share anything other than their positive perceptions of the Hmong because this would be more socially sanctioned than talking openly in negative terms about minorities and disadvantaged refugees and because this hesitancy would limit an examination of the discursive processes by which their opinions were constructed. The questionnaire was therefore deliberately constructed to ask not only about experience in general but specifically about

positive and negative experience. (Appendix M summarizes respondent remarks in response to Question #10 and organizes them into categories of respondents' expressions of Hmong characteristics that they encountered in their experience and that they perceived to be either positive or negative.)

Respondents' reports of positive experiences relate to their positive perceptions of Hmong interpersonal skills and personal characteristics, work habits, orientation to education, and family orientation. Negative personal experiences relate to respondents' negative perceptions of Hmong personal habits, lack of English proficiency, and handling of financial affairs. The balance or relative weight of the positive versus the negative comments indicates that respondent characterization of their experience with the Hmong is much more positive than negative in nature.

In contrast, the only positive themes that emerge in respondent reports of the experience of *others* with the Hmong (Appendix M) are that others perceived the Hmong as good workers and eager to learn. Negative comments refer to the different values of the Hmong and their different communication skills: they are rude, unfriendly, backward, and lazy; they are a drain on the welfare system; they are criminals; they have gangs; they have many children; they have poor language skills; and they do not follow the fishing laws. These responses support the view that the content of interpersonal communication about the Hmong between respondents and their friends and associates was mainly negative in nature. (As discussed above, they might also reflect personal opinions about the Hmong held by respondents that they chose to report as the opinion of others.)

Respondent #21 exemplifies the dichotomy between respondents' reports of their own experiences in contrast to their reports of the experiences of others. This 50-year-old male community college librarian reports a positive experience with the Hmong for himself but nevertheless provides a litany of the negative experiences with them for others.

I hear about Hmong who have over crowded-apartments with 12 or more family members in one apartment. They run down property values. Don't practice birth control-have more kids than they can afford. Get on welfare as soon as they arrive here. They roam neighborhoods at night in vans stealing from garages, like gypsies of old. They look for dogs and cats to cook for their dinner, etc. They have unsanitary health and personal habits. They don't do yard work and keep their yards up. (Appendix L, Q#10, R#21)

The expressions of respondent experience (Questions #9 and #10) together with their accounts of the experience of others (Question #12) demonstrate that there was a broad catalog of information about the Hmong that circulated among the members of the receiving community and that respondents were able to articulate a breadth of experience, perception, and opinion beyond their own.

Of special interest in responses to Question #12 about the experience of others are the reasons for or causes to which respondents attribute others' perceptions of the Hmong. One theme that runs throughout is the implication that people who have negative opinions of the Hmong are lacking in personal experience with them or are basing their opinions on the opinions of others, and that with more personal experience, their opinions would be more positive. Many respondents seem to defend the Hmong against the negative perceptions of others and to blame the negative perceptions instead on those who hold them. Respondent #1, for example, says others "make harsh judgements on people who

have different values or they fail to have more experience with them." Respondent #2 says he believes there are "negative attitudes, and with experiences [with Hmong] they are either greatened [sic] or completely thrown out." Respondent #6 says, "I feel a lot of people have had mixed feelings cause different cultures (compared to Americans) have different communication skills and may come off rather rude but Hmong probably don't mean to be like that." Respondent #7 attributes the negative perceptions to racism: "People are against anything that is not like them." Respondent #10 says, "other people who have not personally known the Hmong people frequently feel negatively toward them." Respondent #14 implies that the hospital nurses who have negative perceptions are "impatient," whereas Respondent #20 implies that those who have negative perceptions are not "understanding." This theme is reminiscent of similar expressions in the broadcast text (Chapter 3) in which broadcasters emphasize the importance of personal experience with the Hmong for coming to correct opinions about them.

Another theme that is common to at least three of the respondents (R#4, R#5, R#10) in their answers to Question #12 could be entitled "others have had the same experience as I have." This is the case for Respondent #4 who says "most people I am associated with have had a similar experience." Respondent #5 says of her "generally positive" experience that "most of the people I know are in education and their experiences have been like mine for the most part." Similarly, Respondent #10 says, "The people I know have had positive experiences. These are teachers and my daughter. The teachers have had similar experiences to mine. ..."

It is of note that all the respondents who say others' experiences have been the same as theirs report positive experience with the Hmong and that all three are educators. Their comments indicate that interpersonal discourse about the Hmong occurred among educational professionals and that it was generally positive in nature. This contrasts with the generally negative interpersonal communication about the Hmong within the wider community. Inasmuch as a commitment to education is one of the positive Hmong traits identified by study respondents, it is not surprising that those who interacted with the Hmong in the educational setting would have had positive personal experiences with them and would have engaged in positive interpersonal communication about them with other educators.

Parallel Discourses About the Hmong

The comments of the educators lead to the further observation that respondents' descriptions of their discursive experiences paint a picture of a cultural landscape in the Fresno area in which there were multiple spheres of contained yet intersecting discourses; parallel discourses or parallel systems of constructing meaning (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) about the Hmong. The educators are one example. Their answers reveal that they talked among themselves about Hmong commitment to learning, hard work, and overcoming difficult obstacles.

Hospital/medical personnel are another example of a parallel system of constructing meaning. The experiential texts reveal that they communicated among themselves about Hmong childbirth practices, healing ceremonies, and religious beliefs,

many of which they found to be primitive and dirty. They also spoke positively, however, of mutually supportive Hmong family interactions.

In another parallel discourse system, Respondent #26 provides a glimpse of discourse among American fishermen who decried Hmong violation of fishing laws. In another, several respondents lend insight into the discourse that occurred within the sphere of law enforcement. For example, Respondent #24 says the police told her Hmong people are criminals; Respondent #21 describes Hmong law breaking in detail; and several respondents mention Hmong gangs and other lawlessness, which was surely discussed in law enforcement circles as well. In contrast, those who describe the Hmong in a religious setting (such as R#1 and R#9) speak of Hmong appreciativeness, childlike humility, and sweetness. (See Schein, 1987, pp. 93-94, for a discussion of these kinds of perceptions held by religious helpers in the dominant culture.)

Another example of parallel discourses occurred in groups that were organized to render assistance to the Hmong. The type of assistance provided (see responses to Questions #23 and #25 in Appendix L) allows insight into the kinds of discourse about the Hmong that occurred in these groups. Categories of assistance (and thus of discourse that occurred among those providing assistance) include Hmong need for help in areas related to poverty or lack of financial resources (need for food, clothing, cash); education (need for coordination with schools, English instruction, preschool); acculturation (need for counseling, transportation, help with utilities, and legal and medial assistance); and religion (need for church buildings and religious instruction). Discourse at these sites,

therefore, defined the Hmong as a group of people lacking in the basic necessities of life who needed assistance from the host culture in providing those necessities.

Catalog of Ideas and Perspectives

About the Hmong

There were apparently distinct spheres, then, of interpersonal discourse (or parallel discourses) about the Hmong within the community, discourses which contained certain themes unique to each. These spheres overlapped in the broader discourse that took place through the multiple connections in which people participated in society, thus creating webs of intersecting discourse. Respondents' own experiences and insights were expanded, enlarged, and added upon by other discourse systems through the process of discussion with others and exposure to the media, with the result that these individuals could articulate not only their own experiences, attitudes, and opinions but those of others in the community as well. All of this is evidenced by the ways in which respondents are able to identify, describe, and discriminate among the comments they have heard about the Hmong from others (Q#11), Hmong stereotypes (Q#22), and their own attitudes and feelings about what Hmong people are like (Q#27).

Summary statements about respondents' personal positive and negative perceptions of the Hmong, after they had processed all the information from the discourses in which they participated, are evidenced in their responses to Questions #7 and #8. These responses, together with responses to Questions #11, #22, and #27, comprise the content of public opinion about the Hmong or the catalog of ideas, symbols, and perspectives about the Hmong (Price, 1988, p. 664) that had accumulated within the public domain as

of the time of this case study, as reported by the study respondents. (See responses to all these questions in Appendix L.)

Role of Discourse in Opinion Change

Having now examined the creation of public opinion about the Hmong through respondent participation in discourse, the discussion will turn to the role of discourse in changing or altering opinion over time.

Question #16 asked respondents about their initial perceptions or impressions of the Hmong. Respondents answered this question (Table 5.6) in four ways: by telling about their perceptions of Hmong personal characteristics; by describing their emotional reactions to their first impressions of the Hmong; by describing their perceptions of the impact the Hmong would have on the receiving culture; and by describing the reasons for Hmong arrival in the Fresno area.

These initial perceptions of the Hmong can be categorized as positive, negative, neutral, and empathic. (See Appendix M.) Four responses about initial impressions are positive, 6 are negative, 13 are neutral, and 4 are empathic.

Question #17 asked respondents: Have your perceptions/impressions changed over time? If so, why and in what way? In response, 13 indicate that their perceptions remained the same over time, whereas 14 indicate (or express in their responses to other questions) that their perceptions of the Hmong had changed. Only 2 of these 14 had more negative perceptions over time. (Respondent #3 moved from neutral to negative perceptions over time, and Respondent #5 moved from positive to negative.) Of the remaining 12 respondents whose perceptions changed over time, 1 moved from neutral

to empathic; 1 moved from negative to neutral; 4 moved from negative to positive; and 6 moved from neutral to positive. (See Appendix M.)

The reasons for changes in perceptions are expressed by respondents in their answer to Question #17. (See Appendix M.) Those whose perceptions grew more negative over time (R#3, R#5) cite disappointment and worry over Hmong gangs and crime as the reason for the change in their perceptions. All of the remaining respondents, whose perceptions improved over time, attribute their changed perceptions to their getting to know the Hmong, to their developing an understanding of the Hmong contribution to

Table 5.6
Initial Impressions/Perceptions of the
Hmong by Category of Response
(Appendix L, Question 16)

RESPONDENT	PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HMONG
#6	There are a lot of them. They have a lot of children.
#8	Not as clean as Americans in general.
#9	. . . they were a humble people.
#10	Foreign, different, timid.
#13	They looked different than the Spanish.
#14	I had compassion for their innocence.
#16	Pleasant, unassuming, shy, eager to please, uncertain.
#17	They look like street people (mismatched clothes).
#19	Independent, hard-working.
#22	Lack of education. Most of them tend not to work very hard.
#24	Hard workers, lower-socio-economic status.
#26	They like to eat fish.
#27	They're very small people; very reticent at times.

Table 5.6 - Continued

RESPONDENT	EMOTIONAL REACTIONS OF RESPONDENTS TO HMONG
#2	I was worried. I didn't know what to expect.
#3	Just another S.E. Asian refugee group. (This is generally positive, because I have dealt personally with Cambodian and Laotian refugees.)
#9	My initial impression was one of compassion for them. . . .
#14	I had compassion for their innocence.
#15	None really, just that they seemed to come out of no where and there were a lot of them.
#18	Somewhat neutral—maybe at times negative.
#20	Unsure.
#21	No particular feelings one way or another.
#25	Sympathy.
	HMONG IMPACT ON RECEIVING CULTURE
#4	Not very positive—assumed they would be welfare recipients.
#5	I think variety is interesting and healthy for a neighborhood and a society. My impressions were as I previously indicated.
#7	Freeloaders, living off government.
#8	Another group of people admitted to the welfare system-burden on tax payers.
	REASONS FOR THEIR ARRIVAL IN THE COMMUNITY
#1	That they were strangers in a strange land with a horrid background of unhappy experiences and great loss.
#12	That they were people who were coming to this country because of the opportunities here.

the war, to understanding that the Hmong had the desire to work and the ability to be productive citizens, and to the realization of the difficulty of the Hmong situation in America (empathy). Perceptions, then, were changed as a result of the discourse system of personal experience with the Hmong or of knowledge gained about personal issues regarding the Hmong from other discourse systems.

The significance that these respondents attach to the discourse system of personal experience in the change in their perceptions is of note. It corresponds to the views expressed in response to Question #12 in which respondents say people who have negative opinions of the Hmong are lacking in personal experience with them or that need more personal experience for their perceptions to be more positive.

Previous discussions have illustrated that the discourse system most frequently and extensively engaged in, and therefore most influential in producing public opinion of the Hmong for the respondents in this study, was interpersonal communication and that this discourse was largely negative in tone. In their responses to Questions #12 and #17, however, the respondents offer the insight that *change* in opinion requires participation in the discourse system of personal contact and experience with the Hmong. Respondents' expressions of this notion, beyond those already addressed above for Questions #12 and #17, are also evidenced in responses to Question #22 with regard to Hmong stereotypes. Respondent #2 says, for example, that the Hmong "are often thrown into the Asian mold or stereotype. For example people say they are Japanese or Chinese without talking to them and finding out what they really are" (Appendix L, Q#22, R#2).

Similarly, Respondent #9 says:

They are stereotyped as backwards, stupid, lazy, welfare-seekers. I think these ideas arise from fear of our own economy going bad and also from not getting to know and understand the Hmong people and their reasons for coming here. (Appendix L, Q#22, R#9)

These comments illustrate respondent beliefs that incorrect opinions formed through interpersonal discourse can be corrected through personal contact and experience, thus emphasizing the point that opinions, once created, can be changed and re-created through discourse.

This insight is validated by a close reading of the experiential texts (see Appendix M) which reveal that the perceptions of six of the respondents actually changed as a result of personal experience with the Hmong and that perceptions of six others changed as a result of knowledge gained through discourse about personal issues related to the Hmong and their experience (see Appendix M). It is further validated by the findings that although interpersonal talk about the Hmong with associates was largely negative, personal experience with the Hmong was largely positive.

Impact of Media Discourse on Opinion

About the Hmong

Question #13 sought information about respondent exposure and/or attentiveness to newspaper discourse about the Hmong. The question asked: Have you read newspaper stories about Hmong? If so, briefly mention what kinds of things you have read.

Of the 27 respondents, 7 say they have not read newspaper stories about the Hmong, 1 says he does not take the paper, 1 says she has not read anything lately that

she can recall, 1 says she has read little about the Hmong, and 14 mention stories that they can recall. (Two did not respond to Question #13.) That only about half of the 27 respondents report newspaper recall indicates that they were not attentive to newspaper discourse, that not much newspaper discourse was available for them to be attentive to, and/or that they were not sufficiently motivated to answer this question.

Of the 14 responses with recall of specific newspaper stories about the Hmong, answers vary from one-story recall to evidence of respondents having read quite widely. (Respondent #1 indicates she is not sure if what she read was about the Hmong or about other Southeast Asian groups.) The specific newspaper stories or story angles/subjects mentioned by the respondents (followed by the number of respondents who mention them) are charted in Table 5.7. As the table indicates, the respondents recalled a variety of stories, with those about Hmong cultural celebrations and activities being the most frequently mentioned.

Question #14 sought information about exposure and/or attentiveness to broadcast discourse about the Hmong and asked respondents: Have you heard anything about Hmong on radio or television? If so, briefly mention what kinds of things you have heard or seen. One respondent says she had not heard or seen anything on radio or television, 4 give no response, 4 indicate they had seen or heard "little" or "very little" on radio and television about the Hmong, and 7 simply say to see their responses to the similar question about newspaper stories.

Table 5.7
Newspaper Stories About Hmong
Recalled By Respondents*
(Appendix L, Question 13)

Cultural celebration and activities	6
Resettlement/adjustment/acculturation problems here in America	4
Hmong boy with club feet; distrust of medical profession	4
Distrust of police; need for Hmong police	3
Hmong crime stories; Hmong gangs	3
Hmong achievement of honors, awards, and recognition; Hmong interest in education	2
Hmong suicides	2
Conditions of Hmong life previous to coming to America	2
Hmong CSUF students	1

* Numbers indicate how many respondents recalled newspaper stories in these categories.

This latter response is especially interesting since it reveals a blurring in the minds of the respondents between the print and broadcast media—a cognitive blending of information received from various media discourses. That this occurs is also the impression that arises from reading the experiential texts in full. Respondents seem to be able to make clear distinctions about information received from the three discourse systems of personal experience, interpersonal communication, and media discourse; but within the category of the media, clear distinctions are not made between information received from print versus broadcast media.

With 16 respondents indicating either little or no recall of broadcast discourse about the Hmong, or not making a distinction between print and broadcast, 11 remain (compared to 14 for the newspaper) who offer specific information that they learned or

heard about the Hmong from broadcast coverage. The specific broadcast stories or story angles/subjects mentioned by the respondents are charted in Table 5.8.

The types of stories recalled for newspaper and broadcast taken together (Tables 5.7 and 5.8) are similar. Both lists are topped by recall of stories about Hmong cultural celebrations, and mention is made of Hmong gangs and crime, acculturation problems, achievement in school, fear/distrust of police and the legal system, and problems with the medical profession. These tables, taken together, are analogous as a text to the broadcasters' recall of broadcast stories about the Hmong (Chapter 3, Table 3.4) in that they are artifacts of the ways in which the media framed the Hmong—or the ways in which media coverage of the Hmong is perceived to have been framed in the minds of the respondents.

Noticeably lacking from the list of newspaper recall (Table 5.7) is the series of special feature stories included in the newspaper text in which internal Hmong social issues—with specific regard to the Hmong resistance movement, and corrupt Hmong leadership—were discussed in depth (newspaper articles #8, #9, #10, and #11). These were long feature articles, published less than 2 years before the date of this study, very visibly placed in the body of the paper, to which The Fresno Bee obviously devoted a considerable amount of manpower and economic resources and in which several important revelations about Hmong resettlement and acculturation issues were apparently "scooped." Nevertheless, not 1 respondent mentions the ideas and issues developed in those articles.

Table 5.8
Broadcast Stories About Hmong
Recalled by Respondents*
(Appendix L, Question 14)

Cultural events; celebration of the Hmong New Year	3
Hmong gang problems	1
How Hmong children are represented in Fresno schools	1
Crimes against Hmongs by members of other ethnic minority groups	1
Hmong fear of getting in trouble with the U.S. legal systems over child discipline, welfare, medical, authorities	1
A family who would not allow surgery on their son's club foot because they thought it was a payment for ancestral sins	1
That many were being denied entrance to some of the top universities in the country even though their scores rank amongst the highest in the country also	1
Information about where Hmong can go for assistance with agencies	1
That the Hmong are having the "usual" acculturation problems of any immigrant group	1
That the children are excelling in their studies by studying a lot	1
Government agencies in Fresno who report on Southeast Asian people	1

* Numbers indicate how many respondents recalled broadcast stories in these categories.

Nothing in the experiential texts, other than the comparatively low attentiveness to media discourse as compared to interpersonal discourse, would explain this exclusion. A comparison of how many respondents recalled newspaper stories (Table 5.7) vs. broadcast stories (Table 5.8) about the Hmong would indicate closer attention to stories about the Hmong in the newspaper than in the broadcast media. Such a conclusion is questionable, however. A more likely explanation is that study participants responded more energetically to the newspaper question than they did to the broadcast question because the newspaper question preceded the broadcast question in the questionnaire to

which they responded. This conclusion would be supported by the previously discussed blurring between print and broadcast as sources of information in the minds of respondents, by the similarities among the stories recalled by respondents in both the print and the broadcast media, and by the similarities among broadcast frames identified by broadcasters in Chapter 3 (Table 3.5) with respondent recall of both media in the experiential texts.

Going back now to the question about why the content and frames arising from the special in-depth series of articles about the Hmong do not appear in respondents' accounts of media recall, speculative explanations are that respondents were not particularly attentive to newspaper discourse about the Hmong in general, or to this series of articles (which focused primarily on internal Hmong issues as opposed to Hmong impact on the receiving society) in particular. Perhaps they were not sufficiently aware of or interested in the Hmong at the time the articles appeared to warrant reading and/or recalling them. Beyond speculation, however, there is research that provides possible answers—answers that are not necessarily apparent in this study's texts alone. In their article "The Agenda-Setting Effects of International News Coverage: An Examination of Differing News Frames," Wanta et al. (1991) present several ideas that would explain the exclusion from respondent recall of the media content and frames of this important series of investigative reports. First, despite the depth of these reports, they appeared as one-time events, and there was not a large amount of media coverage of the issues suggested in the articles. According to Wanta et al, the amount of coverage of an issue is an important determinant of agenda setting (p. 1). Second, perhaps even if the

respondents read the articles, if they perceived there was too much cultural difference—too little cultural proximity—between themselves and the subjects of the articles, there would be no motivation for recall (Wanta et al., p. 3). Third, Wanta et al. point out that the agenda-setting effect is weak in stories in which the conflict described in the story does not have direct concern or relevancy for the readers (pp. 7, 14). It would therefore be reasonable to assume that there was not sufficient issue salience in these Bee stories about the Hmong to warrant respondent interest or recall.

On another matter about the uses of media discourse as related to this study, it is perhaps rather remarkable, given the importance of the mass media in our society, that beyond their responses to the specific questions (Q#13 and Q#14) that pointedly asked about media discourse, very few respondents spontaneously mention the media as sources of information in their responses to other questions. Some exceptions to this observation are Respondent #24, who says (Q#6) that she sees the Hmong mostly on TV, and Respondent #21, who says (Q#8) he has read articles (mostly negative news) in the local papers.

This relative lack of importance of media discourse to the respondents' cognitive processes about the Hmong has already been evidenced in previous discussions in this chapter. For example, only 7 respondents attended closely to media discourse about the Hmong (Table 5.4), and those respondents who had extensive knowledge about the Hmong participated in only limited media discourse about them (Appendix M). In contrast, the analysis of respondent discourse has indicated repeatedly that interpersonal

communication (talking with others) about the Hmong was the most prevalent and important form of discourse among these respondents for this issue.

Inasmuch as the study respondents are mostly literate, white-collar, education-oriented individuals, it can be assumed that the unimportance of media discourse about this issue cannot be attributed entirely to a failure to be attentive to or to understand either print or broadcast media in general. Rather, it is probably a result of relatively limited media coverage about the Hmong in the Fresno community. This is an observation mentioned by several of the broadcast respondents in the broadcast text (Chapter 3) and corroborated by the analysis of the experiential texts in this chapter as well.

There is an underlying tenor throughout the experiential texts that the Hmong were a mystery to the community—a population group that was not highly visible. This thought is expressed openly by Respondent #6 in a comment that is reminiscent of several similar expressions made by broadcast respondents. She says, "Public perceptions seem negative and a lot of Fresno communities don't want to deal with them so they are invisible. They are here but not recognized" (Q#28, R#6).

If, in fact, media coverage of the Hmong in the Fresno area was relatively limited and opportunities for members of the receiving culture to have personal contact with the Hmong were also limited (see discussions in Chapter 2 about Hmong insularity and isolation), it would be expected that interpersonal communication among family, friends, and associates would be the most fruitful discourse system within which and from which

the receiving culture could get information about the Hmong and upon which they would base their opinions about them.

The need to rely on interpersonal communication for information about the Hmong also explains the character of the information the respondents accumulated about them. The positive and negative perceptions of the Hmong offered in response to Questions #7 and #8, for example, reflect knowledge of a personal nature. The Hmong are described as "very nice" and "not aggressive" (R#22), "industrious" (R#27), "humble in demeanor" (R#1). At the same time, they are described as having "poor personal hygiene" (R#1), as being "pretty bad drivers" (R#5), and as having too much free time which leads the adult Hmong to "gambling and drinking" (R#8). The tenor of these perceptions reflects the personal nature of the discourse systems (personal contact with the Hmong and discussions with others about them) in which these ideas were encountered. Presumably, if media discourse about the Hmong had been more abundant, or if respondents had been forced to rely on it more as a primary source of information, the nature and content of respondent perceptions of the Hmong might have been less personal and more a reflection of institutional discourse. (See Chapter 3 about the predominance of the institutional voice in media discourse.)

With reference to media discourse then, this analysis has found that some respondents were able to recall specific content of media discourse but only about half of them did so; that respondents apparently mentally blurred the content of newspaper and broadcast stories about the Hmong; and that media discourse about the Hmong (for

respondents taken as a group) was not central to their discursive experience or to the construction of their opinions with regard to the Hmong.

Summary of Analysis of Experiential Texts

This chapter has analyzed the experiential texts in which respondents provide self-descriptions of their participation in social/community discourse about the Hmong. The analysis has identified the participants' own opinions about the Hmong, as well as the catalog of ideas and perceptions about the Hmong that were circulated by means of community discourse in the Fresno area, as reported by study participants. More importantly, the analysis has described the discursive processes through which community discourse took place and respondents' opinions were created and changed. Summary statements about this process, as identified in the chapter, include the following:

1. Most respondents had no cognitive preparation for their experience with the Hmong prior to their first encounter. Rather, after seeing and becoming aware of the presence of the Hmong in their community in the course of their daily lives, they gradually learned about them through personal encounter and experience, interpersonal conversations about them with friends and associates, and through media information. Thus, respondents incrementally constructed personal frames of knowledge and opinion about the Hmong based on the information gleaned from these various discourse systems.
2. Despite lack of previous knowledge about the Hmong, however, opinions about them were formed within the cognitive context of preconceptions about immigrants, welfare recipients, Southeast Asians, and/or other categories of people about whom respondents did hold prior opinions.
3. Interpersonal communication (talking with friends, family, and associates about the Hmong) was the key source of respondent knowledge and opinion about the Hmong (as opposed to personal experience with the Hmong and media discourse about them).

4. Although there were some individuals who reported no personal contact with the Hmong, and some who revealed no participation in media discourse about them, every respondent in the study, with no exception, discussed the Hmong with other people in the community (interpersonal communication about the Hmong). Individual discursive experience about the Hmong varied widely, and no one category of discourse exclusively informed the respondents' knowledge and opinions about the Hmong. Nevertheless, the vast majority (22 of 27) of the respondents did participate extensively in interpersonal communication about the Hmong, and this was the only discursive category with this concentration of extensive participation. (Beyond these major conclusions, some other correlational patterns with regard to respondent participation in the discourse systems also emerged. See Summary of Respondent Participation in Discourse section.)
5. The discourse systems in which respondents participated clearly shaped their thinking about the Hmong both in terms of acquired knowledge and opinion formation about them.
6. The bulk of interpersonal communication about the Hmong in which respondents participated (hearing about them from others) was largely negative in nature.
7. As a group, respondents described their own personal experiences with the Hmong as positive whereas they described the personal experience of others with the Hmong as significantly more negative.
8. A catalog of information about the Hmong circulated among members of the receiving community. Respondents were able to rehearse this catalog and to articulate a breadth of experience, perception, and opinion of the Hmong beyond their own.
9. Respondents expressed the opinion that people who have negative opinions of the Hmong are lacking in personal experience with them or are basing their opinions on the opinions of others; with more personal experience, their opinions would be more positive. These perceptions are validated by the improvement in opinion about the Hmong over time based on personal discourse and contact with them.
10. As mentioned above, the discourse system most frequently and extensively engaged in, and therefore most influential in producing

public opinion of the Hmong for the respondents in this study, was interpersonal communication with associates. However, change in opinion required personal contact and experience with the Hmong, or gaining more personal knowledge about them through other discourse systems.

11. There were within the community distinct spheres of interpersonal discourse, or parallel discourses, about the Hmong (such as among teachers, nurses, and law enforcement officers) that contained certain themes unique to each. Within these spheres personal opinion was formed. These spheres also overlapped in the broader discourse that took place through the multiple connections in which people participated in society, thus creating webs of intersecting discourse. Respondents' own experiences and insights were expanded upon by other discourse systems through the process of discussion with others and exposure to the media, with the result that these individuals could articulate not only their own experiences, attitudes, and opinions but those of others in the community as well.
12. Even though some respondents were able to recall specific content of media discourse, only about half of them did so. With some limited exceptions, media discourse about the Hmong was not central to their discursive experience about the Hmong; and respondents mentally blurred the content of newspaper and broadcast stories about them. Specific and/or extensive information about the Hmong was available in discourse systems other than the media. Interpersonal communication, rather than the media, was the primary source of historical and cultural information about the Hmong for respondents who exhibited extensive knowledge about Hmong history and culture.

Respondents' experiences in this case, in which their opinions of the Hmong were created and changed through discourse, are illustrative of the discursive model of public opinion or the ways in which public opinion is a product of communication processes (Price, 1988, p. 661). They are also illustrative of James Carey's (1975a) contention that "to study communication is to examine the actual social process wherein significant symbolic forms are created, apprehended, and used" (p. 17).

The following chapter addresses these issues further and discusses the findings of study in the context of communication literature and theory about public opinion.

CHAPTER 6

DIALECTIC BETWEEN THEORY AND FINDINGS

Introduction

Theory does not serve as a working hypothesis for qualitative studies, but it is nevertheless appropriate and important to identify the dialectic between theory and a study's findings and to contemplate the ways in which findings and theory are mutually informing. How do the findings elucidate theory, and how does theory explicate the findings?'

... in applying theoretical constructs to the ... text, one gains an additional understanding of the scene. At the same time, it is in the power of the text to enlarge our empirical understanding of the theoretical framework. ... If the relationship is fruitful, the analyst should have a better understanding of both the social action and its interpreting theory. If there are few insightful returns in this situation, then, the theory, not the experience, is considered less valuable in this situation. (Anderson, 1987, p. 264)

The design of this study was informed by the assumptions of James Carey's (1975a) ritual model of communication and Vincent Price's (1988) discursive model of public opinion formation. Carey's ritual view of communication is linked to notions of community, association, and shared beliefs. This view posits that it is through the symbolic process of communication that individuals and societies produce, maintain,

^ i s thought, and the selection of words, is from James Anderson. See Anderson, 1987, pp. 260-262 for a discussion of dialectical analysis and Chapter 1 of this dissertation for a discussion of the characteristics of qualitative studies.

repair, and transform their realities (Carey, 1975a, p. 16); that it is through the study of communication that scholars see how society struggles over what is real.

Price's (1988) discursive model of public opinion formation shares the basic assumptions of the ritual model and expands upon it with specific reference to public opinion. Price's model conceptualizes public opinion "fundamentally as a collective and communicative process, in which discourse over an issue [is] seen as structuring individual and collective opinion over time" (p. 661). The essence of the discursive model is that "opinion formation unfolds through public discussion" (p. 664). Opinion processes are "collective, communicative attempts to resolve shared problems and uncertainties" (p. 663). "People respond to public issues not in limitless idiosyncratic or individualistic ways but through participation in the wider collective process . . ." (p. 666).

Price (1988) says research needs to explain "the interactive process of public discourse itself—in other words, the way that individuals, through their participation in public debate, collectively construct a common domain of ideas . . ." (p. 667).

This case study of community discourse about Hmong immigrants in Fresno, California, has responded to this call for research about the interactive process of public discourse in the collective construction of public opinion. It has explored how communication and discourse enabled individuals to produce, maintain, repair, and transform their opinions about the Hmong and how personal and collective constructions of reality were produced.

Role of the Media in Opinion Formation

Price's overall discursive model of public opinion has been validated and illustrated by this study, but his thesis that "the 'conversation' through which a public organizes" occurs in the various media of mass communication (1988, p. 664) is not accurately descriptive of the dynamics in this case. The design of the study was informed by Price and other communication literature about public opinion in that it assumed the critical and central importance of the media in contributing to the creation of public opinion, in setting the agenda about how the Hmong would be discussed, in establishing the frames within which public discourse would be conducted, and in providing the discursive context or background for all other discourses within the community. Because of this assumption, the study focused on identifying media frames of the Hmong in the media texts as a means of being clear about the discursive context provided by the media within which personal contact with the Hmong and interpersonal discourse about them took place. The study's methods have been successful in identifying media frames of the Hmong as evidenced in the media texts selected for analysis (see Chapter 3), but the experiential texts, in which respondents describe their discursive experience with this issue (Chapter 4), reveal quite clearly that the media provided neither the dominant frames by which the Hmong were discussed in the community nor the discursive context for community discourse about them. Rather, the discursive context within which the Hmong were framed and within which individuals formed their opinions of them is better conceptualized as a landscape dotted with locus points of personal, group, and professional discussions about the Hmong. Radiating from and connecting to these locus

points was a network of intersecting and mutually informing discourses through which information and opinions were shared and transmitted across the community. This network of intersecting and mutually informing small group discourses, then, was the discursive context within which all personal experience with the Hmong and discourse about them, including media discourse, took place. Media discourse was received within the context of this network of intersecting discourses and was also one of the many locus points of discourse about this issue within the community.

Even though the media did not provide the context or the dominant frames for public discussion about the Hmong, they were sites at which community discourses sometimes *converged* and at which these discourses (especially institutional discourse) were sometimes publicly *displayed* in newspaper and broadcast stories.

The analysis of the media texts (Chapter 3) reveals that the media framed the Hmong not with one set of descriptors but with multiple and diverse images. These images were reflections of the content of the stories covered and of the opinions expressed by story sources. Further, media frames were not controlling of the formation of personal opinion about the Hmong for study respondents. The controlling frames of the Hmong in opinion formation were developed, as mentioned previously, within interest group communities such as schools, social service agencies, churches, law enforcement agencies, hospitals, neighborhoods, and families. The Hmong were framed differently within each of these community circles. The content of the descriptors of the Hmong was fairly specific and well defined within each group but varied widely among groups. Regardless of the communities of discourse with which individual study respondents

identified, however, or the personal contacts with whom they primarily discussed the Hmong, they were able to articulate the breadth of opinion that existed within or that arose from the other sites of discourse as well. This illustrates the interconnectedness of the network of the community of discourse that existed about this issue and the ways in which individuals were able to develop personal opinions informed by their group affiliations while also being aware of the content of other discourses circulating throughout the community.

The only frame of the Hmong identified in the media texts that was unique to the media, and that arose from the media as a focused frame, was the image of the Hmong as victims of their own Hmong leadership (Chapter 3). This frame was carefully and thoroughly constructed by a series of special reports in The Fresno Bee. The frame was never mentioned, however, by study respondents in their recitations of the images, stereotypes, and perceptions of the Hmong that existed in the Fresno community. This is an example of the failure of the media to set the agenda for community discussion of the Hmong or to establish ultimately defining labels and frames.

Comments by the broadcasters and other study respondents suggest that, except for covering routine news items such as cultural events and crime stories, the media were relatively silent about the Hmong. One might expect, given the extremely rapid influx of many thousands of immigrants, that news coverage of them and their impact on the community would have dominated a large portion of the news. The reasons for this lack of news coverage and the question of media culpability, if any, in its service to the community with regard to this issue are questions that should be explored in another

study. A relative dearth of coverage of the Hmong by the media could arguably be the reason that the media did not shape public opinion about them. The widespread and extensive interpersonal communication about the Hmong that took place throughout the receiving community, however, suggests that even if media coverage had been extensive, it might well have been rivaled or outdone as an opinion formation mechanism by the interpersonal level of discourse. (See related discussion below about the uses and dependency model.)

In summary, then, the media texts have shown that public conversations about the Hmong in Fresno *converged* in mass media stories and were *displayed* there, but the respondents' experiential texts show that discourse and opinions about the Hmong were *organized* in "social collectives" or "small-scale interpersonal publics" (Price & Allen, 1990, pp. 377, 388). Images, frames, or definitions of the Hmong were developed within these social collectives through interpersonal discourse, and supporting evidence for these definitions (anecdotal and otherwise) was supplied there as well.

A focus on media frames of an issue is a valid and important research question. The results of this study illustrate, however, that for contemporary as well as for historical studies, media frames cannot be assumed to thoroughly represent the catalog of ideas and perspectives that existed within the public domain about issues under study, nor can it be assumed that media frames necessarily set the agenda for and shaped the parameters of public discussion about the issue.

The Multileveled Process of Opinion Formation

This study has found a basis for Price's contention that research about public opinion must go beyond individual level cognition and opinion formation to study "the structure of ideas that accumulate within the 'public domain'" (Price, 1988, p. 663) and within which individual-level cognition occurs. Also, the study substantiates the value of exploring the multileveled process of opinion formation discussed by Durham (1991) and others or "the simultaneity of individual and collective behavior, as a complex process of multiple recursive 'effects' crossing levels," discussed by Price (1988, p. 667). Further, the study has illustrated the value of the conceptual separation and differentiation among personal, interpersonal, and media communicative experiences (suggested by Lasorsa & Wanta, 1990) in the study of opinion formation processes and the examination of the interplay among these discursive experiences. The design of the study was informed by this communication literature (Chapter 1) in that it assumed that public opinion is created through discursive processes and that discourse relevant to the process occurs at different societal levels. These assumptions have been shown to be valid in this case.

Small Group Influence on Opinion Formation

Analysis of study respondents' accounts of their experience (Chapter 5) has found that (for this issue, at this particular historical site and moment in time, and for the specific study respondents surveyed) the discursive experience most influential in creating public opinion was the interpersonal dialogue that occurred among the study's respondents and their families, friends, and personal and professional associates. It was at this level

of "small-scale interpersonal publics" (Price & Allen, 1990, p. 377) that opinions about the Hmong were framed, structured, and organized and within which the supporting evidence for and content of those opinions were supplied. The study has identified the catalog of ideas and perspectives about the Hmong that existed and circulated in the Fresno area, as expressed by study respondents (see Chapter 5). This catalog consists of a wide range of frames about the Hmong and is a reflection of the multiple small group parallel discourses about the Hmong that existed throughout the community.

In their article "Opinion Spirals, Silent and Otherwise: Applying Small-Group Research to Public Opinion Phenomena," Price and Allen (1990) take issue with the spiral of silence hypothesis (Chapter 1) that public opinion is essentially the pressure to conform (p. 369), and that the media are essential in informing individuals about the general climate of opinion (p. 370). As an alternative to the conformity view of public opinion and to the emphasis on the role of the media, Price and Allen suggest applying small group research to mass opinion phenomena (p. 377). They say:

When we look to the considerable volume of experimental research on social influence in group settings, we find many rich and detailed accounts of the various ways in which communication shapes opinion formation, at least in small-scale interpersonal "publics." (p. 377)

Price and Allen (1990) describe the ambiguity and uncertainty of individual judgments and opinions, and the dynamics of majority and minority influence on opinion formation. They suggest that small-group norm formation "may give us better clues about how these [opinion-forming] processes work . . ." (p. 388).

The matter is perhaps best put this way: Public opinion processes strive for consensus through communication. It is through discussion and debate, through the formation and change of public opinion, that social collectives

can adapt to changing circumstances. Public communication involves an exchange of information, a give-and-take of contending approaches to and definitions of the problem, and invariably entails social influence, (p. 388)

This Price and Allen (1990) article is mentioned here because, although it does not propose a specific model of public opinion formation, it does suggest that the dynamics of the social processes of opinion formation might best be understood through the study of small groups (social collectives, or small-scale interpersonal publics). The findings of this study validate this view. The study illuminates the existence of parallel discourses about the Hmong throughout the community, parallel discourses that occurred in small group dynamics—in professional and personal settings. The influence of these discourses on respondents' thinking is evident in their expressed opinions of the Hmong and in the descriptions of their personal discursive experiences about them. The Price and Allen suggestion of the fruitfulness of research into the influence of small-group dynamics on mass opinion phenomena is therefore mentioned here as a recommendation that it be an explicit point of focus in the design of future research.

Information Seeking and Receptivity

Some further communication literature is also germane to the findings in this case. Worthy of mention is the article "Assessing the Active Component of Information-Seeking" by Gantz, Fitzmaurice, and Fink (1991).² This article relates specifically to information seeking and only tangentially to public opinion research but, nevertheless, lends insight into the process by which this study's respondents acquired information

²See also Donahew and Tipton (1973) for a discussion of information seeking.

about Hmong immigrants. Gantz et al. differentiate between information seeking and information receptivity. The former is the "deliberate utilization of a news medium in order to acquire additional information about news events," and the latter is "seen as the serendipitous exposure to additional information about news events presented by the news media" (p. 632). This study illustrates that the same distinctions can be made about information gleaned purposefully or serendipitously from communication channels other than the media as well. For example in seeking or acquiring information about the Hmong, individual respondents sometimes had weak specific information seeking strategies from some sources or categories of discourse (such as the media or personal experience with the Hmong), but they apparently actively sought information from other communication channels (such as interpersonal discourse). Also, despite a lack of active interest in information seeking for some respondents, they nevertheless acquired a body of information about the Hmong by virtue of simply passively receiving it through various channels of community discourse.

Gantz et al. (1991) emphasize that both active and passive information seeking involve "surveillance of the communication environment" (p. 637). This phrase is descriptive of the process by which study respondents acquired information about the Hmong. They actively or passively surveyed the communication environment and within that environment formed their opinions of them.

Donald L. Shaw (1991) notes that the article by Gantz et al. together with other studies illustrate that "audiences do in fact pursue information actively when they have an interest or need for it," but audiences are also "selective among media and topics," and

their information seeking is "not always from the traditional media." Audiences are "in a sense . . . picking and choosing, learning and ignoring, and actively constructing the information worlds in which they choose to live" (Shaw, 1991).

In a discussion that is consistent with this thought, in their article "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach," Gamson and Modigliani (1989) state:

On many issues, people encounter relevant phenomena directly rather than through mass-media accounts. They try to understand events in light of what touches their lives. . . . On some issues, the audience has little experience by which to judge media-generated images and meanings; concerning other issues, they have a great deal. . . the relative importance of media discourse depends on how readily available meaning-generating experiences are in people's everyday lives." (p. 9)

These insights, together with this case study which substantiates them, illuminate the need for public opinion theory within the field of communication to account for the ways in which individuals construct their own worlds of information and discourse and the ways in which their opinions about issues are fashioned differently depending on the availability of personal experience, channels of discourse, and the circumstances surrounding the issues.

The Uses and Dependency Model

One model that accounts for these issues is Rubin and Windahl's uses and dependency model of mass communication (1986). This model is especially useful for conceptualizing and explaining the uses of multiple discourse systems in the opinion formation process by this study's respondents. The uses and dependency model holds that "individual needs and motives lead to media use constrained by societal structures and

conditions" (p. 195). Media use will vary depending on the characteristics of several factors: societal events; media availability, content, and functioning; individual needs, interests, and motives; media and functional alternative use; dependency or nondependency (whereby people are inclined to rely upon one channel of communication or another); and media effects or consequences (Rubin & Windahl, 1986, p. 187). These components have been shown to be of varying influence and importance in the creation of public opinion in this study. The uses and dependency model provides "a detailed description of people who actively seek and avoid messages from various personal and mediated sources, emphasizing that social elements and interaction are important when considering media-audience connections" (p. 187).³

Rubin and Windahl (1986) say "media dependency follows from heightened needs or motives for media use, and increases susceptibility to media influence" (p. 191). Dependency determines what media and content are selected and "why and how a medium is used and the content is processed and interpreted" (p. 191). However, individuals may rely on functional alternatives rather than, or in addition to, the mass media. Their needs and interests may be satisfied:

(a) best by media use alone, (b) equally well by media use and other alternatives, or (c) best by alternatives to specific media use. The more readily available, the greater the perceived instrumentality, and the more socially and culturally acceptable the use of a medium is, the more

³The uses and dependency model synthesizes the two perspectives of the uses and gratifications model of mass media (which is centered in the micro-perspective of individual needs and motives) together with the dependency model of mass media (which is centered in the macro-perspective of societal relationships to mass media and functional alternatives to media use). See the Rubin and Windahl article (1986) for a summary discussion of the assumptions of these two base models.

probable that media use will be regarded as the most appropriate functional alternative. The same principle also applie[s] to non-mediated functional alternatives. . . .The more an individual comes to rely on a single source, the greater is the predictability of the outcome. Second, the more functional alternatives there are for an individual, the lesser is the dependency on and influence of a specific medium. Our supposition is that the individual is aware and makes use of these available alternatives." (p. 193)

Rubin and Windahl (1986) suggest that interpersonal contact provides a functional alternative to the media primarily for meeting personal needs (p. 193) and that "those with salient motives to seek a variety of information will attempt to use as many alternatives as feasible" (p. 194) They suggest further that "information seeking strategies are useful for examining the mechanisms of dependency" (p. 194) and that individuals maintain a preferred processing state. When the preferred processing state is overstimulated, information seeking is curtailed. When the processing state is under-aroused, new and different stimuli are sought "An individual may use a narrow or broad information seeking strategy" (p. 194).

This view is most relevant to the uses and dependency model. It parallels the links between individual motives for media use, the seeking (or not seeking) of functional alternatives for information (or even entertainment, companionship, etc.) and dependency (or non-dependency) on a medium, (pp. 194-195)

The basic concepts and assumptions of the uses and dependency model are consistent with the findings of this case study. In hypothetical contrast is a strict media effects model that would expect public opinion to be a direct consequence or outcome of media frames about the Hmong. Such an approach would be entirely inadequate to explain the social action revealed in this study. The uses and dependency model is satisfying as an explanation of the social processes identified here because (a) it accounts

for individual differences among respondents in information-seeking and uses of alternative communication channels as sources of information; (b) it acknowledges that the media may not be the best or preferred sources of discourse to satisfy individual motives, interests, or information needs; (c) it accounts for individual reliance on multilevels and multisources of discourse in the construction of opinion; (d) it accounts for the need to turn to alternative forms of interaction and communication when particular types or arenas of communication and/or of content are not perceived to be adequate to the need, or when they do not provide the kinds of information that are sought; and (e) it acknowledges that individuals may process, value, and come to conclusions about information differently.

The weakness in the uses and dependency model as it relates to this study, however, is that because it is a model of mass communication, it assumes the media are the primary communication channels and that other channels are "functional alternatives" to the media. This study illustrates that for studies of public opinion, a more balanced view is needed of the relationships among the media, interpersonal discourse, and personal experience with an event or issue.

The Impact of Preconceptions on Public Opinion

The uses and dependency model is also lacking in that, although it accounts for individual differences in processing information, it does not specifically account for the impact of preconceptions about an issue or event. Preconceptions have been shown in this study to have been important to the formation of opinion about the Hmong (see Chapter 5).

The importance of preconceived opinions was a basic assumption in Walter Lippmann's seminal book, Public Opinion (originally published in 1922). Lippmann (1941) draws a distinction between "the world outside and the picture in our heads" (p. 1). He says that "whatever we believe to be a true picture, we treat as if it were the environment itself" (p. 4).⁴ The images and stereotypes we humans produce about what the world is like are important to us for economy of attention and energy in relating to the world. We do not have time in life to know and experience all things and all people personally and individually, so we must relate instead to types of situations, experiences, and people. We have a need for this economy of thought to structure our relationships with the world.⁵

Lippmann (1941) says we are given stereotypes about others through our socialization processes before we encounter "the other." "For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see" (p. 81). We begin our associations with others with our opinions, perceptions, and stereotypes already pre-established in our minds.

The analysis of the experiential texts in Chapter 5 found that study respondents had no prior knowledge that the Hmong even existed in the world and that they had never given a thought to what the Hmong might be like or to establishing opinions about them. The Hmong were so new to the community, so recently a part of the public

^his observation is reminiscent of James Carey's comment that "we first produce the world by symbolic work and then take up residence in the world we have produced" (Carey, 1975, p. 16).

⁵See Lippmann, 1941, Chapters 1, 2, and 3.

consciousness, that they came into the social mix of Fresno devoid of an accompanying set of defining images. There was no stereotype to "stamp itself upon the evidence in the very act of securing the evidence" (Lippmann, 1941, p. 99); nothing to tell the receiving culture what they "expected to find" (p. 115). To have such an unknown group of people come among another-so thoroughly free of stereotype-is perhaps a unique occurrence.

Nevertheless, despite these unique circumstances, and true to Lippmann's insights, it is evident that the study respondents did have preconceptions about classes and categories of other people with whom they had previous experience that affected their individual and collective opinions about the Hmong. A satisfactory model of the dynamics of public opinion formation in this case must therefore account for the existence of these preconceived judgments, convictions, and beliefs and their effect upon the development of opinions about the Hmong.

Profile of a Satisfactory Comprehensive Model of Opinion Formation

This and other issues discussed previously suggest that although the literature is helpful in explicating the social action identified in this study, a model of public opinion formation does not currently exist in the communication literature to thoroughly explicate the findings of this study. A comprehensive model of opinion formation that would satisfactorily explain the discursive interaction revealed in this study about community discourse in the construction of public opinion about the Hmong would need to include the components discussed below:

1. The general assumptions arising from the ritual and discursive models of public opinion formation that social reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed through the symbolic process of communication and that public opinion arises from the collective activity of mutually-informing community discourses. (Carey, 1975a; Price, 1988)
2. The assumption that the study of public opinion must involve the study of the communicative context within which individual opinion develops; the catalog of ideas accumulated within the public domain about the issue, event, or people of interest. (Price, 1988)
3. The assumption that the study of public opinion must focus on multileveled discourses (Durham, 1991) and parallel systems of constructing meaning (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) and that these discourses are usefully conceptualized in the categories of personal, interpersonal, and media communicative experiences. (Lasorsa & Wanta, 1990)
4. The assumption that small group influence is an important contributing factor to (if not the primary process in) the development of public opinion. (Price & Allen, 1990)
5. The assumptions of the uses and dependency model of mass communication which account (among other important issues) for differences in the communication channels that are available for different issues about which opinions are being formed; differences among individuals in seeking and using communication alternatives; and the dynamics by which people turn to various alternative sources of communication to meet personal and informational needs. (Rubin & Windahl, 1986)
6. The assumption that people are selective among communication channels and topics and that they actively construct the information worlds in which they choose to live. (Shaw, 1991)
7. The assumption that individuals do not meet new issues, events, or people in an intellectual and emotional vacuum; that they always have a schemata of internal preconceptions (acquired from previous related discourses) that preinform their opinion formation. (Lippmann, 1941)

A model based in these assumptions would conceptualize public opinion as being comprised of and produced by the accumulated result of discursive participation in the mutually informing and intersecting discourse systems of interpersonal communication within small-scale interpersonal publics, media discourse, and direct personal experience with the event, issue, or people about whom opinions are being formed. The importance of each of these discourse systems to opinion formation would be understood by this model to vary widely according to issues, circumstances, and individuals.

Additionally, these discourse systems would be understood to occur within a context that both shapes and contributes to them. This context would include the personal psychological environment of preexisting personal attitudes related to the class or type of event, issue, or people about whom opinions are being formed, as well as personal needs, motives, and strategies for seeking various discourses and information sources. Further, the model would account for the social environmental context that includes the availability of communication and discourse systems as well as the general catalog of ideas that exists in the public domain about the events, issues, or people that are the focus of the opinion formation.

Even though it is beyond the scope of this study to fully develop such a model, this profile of a model that would satisfactorily explicate the findings of this study are suggested here as a basis for future work and development in response to Vincent Price's (1988) statement that the thrust of future opinion research will be "to construct theoretical models of the way public opinion is created, maintained, and altered over time through individual-level cognition and social-level communication" (p. 660).

Conclusion

Communication theory has been useful in explicating the findings of this inquiry into the production of public opinion about the Hmong through community discourse and in providing conceptualizations and vocabularies for describing and explaining the social processes identified by the study. Conversely, the findings of the study have been useful in elucidating theory and in identifying both the strengths and the weaknesses in communication public opinion theory in describing the process of opinion formation in this case.

Finally, this case study of community discourse with its focus on multiple levels of communicative experience has led to a further understanding of "the dynamic process of public opinion by which society talks to itself and interactions across different levels occur" (Durham, 1991, p. 4) and has provided further evidence for the view that public opinion arises from the collective activity of mutually informing community discourses.

APPENDIX A

NEWSPAPER TEXT: SELECTION OF SOURCES

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #1

Hmong Women Are In Business;
Big Market For Their Handiwork

1. Manager of the Hmong Arts shop (female, Hmong)
2. Former manager of Hmong Arts shop (female, non-Hmong)

Total Sources: 2

Institutional Sources: 1

Individual Sources: 1

Hmong Sources: 1

Non-Hmong Sources: 1

ARTICLE #2

Teachers Who Speak SE Asian
Languages Desperately Needed

1. California State Department of Education
2. Director of Fresno Unified's multilingual and multicultural education
3. Executive Director of Lao Family Community Inc.
4. Superintendent, Fresno Unified School District
5. Dean, School of Education and Human Development, Fresno State University
6. Santa Ana Unified School District
7. Supervisor, Santa-Ana District Indochinese Program (Khamchong Luangpraseut)
8. St. Paul, Minnesota public schools
9. Consultant, St Paul's bilingual program
10. Consultant, bilingual office, California State Department of Education
11. Two Hmong cousins, students at Fresno State University (2)

Total Sources: 12

Institutional Sources: 10

Individual Sources: 2

Hmong Sources: 3

Non-Hmong Sources: 9

NOTE: Institutional sources include governmental, business, and/or organizational sources. Individual sources include sources not identified representatives of institutional affiliations. Each entry is counted as one source unless otherwise indicated in parentheses.

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #3

Southeast Asian Groups Are At Odds

1. President, Vietnamese Association (first woman refugee leader in Fresno)
2. Cambodian leaders
3. Head, translation and advocacy program steering committee
4. Director and associate directors, Lao Family Community
5. Lowland Lao community leader
6. Refugee employment counselor, Catholic Charities
7. County Board of Supervisors
8. Department of Social Services
9. Fresno City Manager
10. Deputy County Counsel
11. Cambodian, Lowland Lao, Vietnamese and Hmong association members
12. County social worker

Total Sources: 12

Institutional Sources: 12

Individual Sources: 0

Hmong Sources: 1

Non-Hmong Sources: 11

ARTICLE #4

Confined Without A Country;
Waiting In Thailand In Hmong
Refugee Camp, Fresno Means
New Life

1. Camp doctor
2. Director, Lao Family Community Inc. in Fresno
3. Hmong woman in camp with severely ill son; and her brother in Fresno (2)
4. Hmong janitor in Fresno schools, formerly radio operator for CIA in Laos during Vietnam War
5. Hmong practical nurse (male) in camp; and his brother in Fresno (2)
6. United Nations reports
7. Applications for immigration interviews
8. 67- and 59-year-old male Hmong residents of Ban Vinai (2)
9. Hmong immigrants in Fresno
10. Hmong camp internees
11. U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees
12. Camp nurse
13. Hmong camp midwife
14. Thai government officials

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #4 - Continued

15. Head of the Thai National Security Council
16. U.N. and U.S. Embassy officials
17. Anonymous refugee officials
18. Refugee affairs counselor for the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok
19. Food for the Hungry (voluntary agency)
20. U.N. spokesman in Bangkok
21. Thai military commander
22. Bangkok jewelry salesman
23. Taxi driver in Udon, Thailand
24. Los Angeles Times story
25. Bangkok Post article
26. Lao resistance movement
27. U.S. Embassy counselor in Bangkok

Total Sources: 30

Institutional Sources: 16

Individual Sources: 14

Hmong Sources: 12

Non-Hmong Sources: 18

ARTICLE #5

Sudden Deaths Of Refugees
Declining; But Most Recent
Occurred In San Joaquin Valley

1. Medical epidemiologist, U.S. Centers for Disease Control, Atlanta, Georgia
2. CDC officials
3. Medical researchers
4. University of Minnesota researcher
5. Postdoctoral fellow, School of Public Health, University of Minnesota
6. Resettlement Director, Lao Family Community of Fresno Inc.
7. Manager, University of California Cooperative Extension's expanded food nutrition education program for refugees

Total Sources: 7

Institutional Sources: 7

Individual Sources: 0

Hmong Sources: 1

Non-Hmong Sources: 6

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #6

Translators Aid Treatment At
Hospitals; Both The Medical Staff,
Patients Gain From Insight Of
Interpreters

1. Hmong translator, Valley Medical Center, Fresno
2. Hmong patient
3. Associate Chief of Emergency Medicine, Valley Medical Center
4. Hmong interpreter and student at Fresno State University
5. Coordinator, Emergency Department, Valley Medical Center
6. Spanish interpreter
7. Medical student, University of California, San Francisco
8. Physician's assistant
9. Registered nurse
10. Officials at Fresno Community Hospital and St Agnes Medical Center
11. Unit director of St. Agnes emergency department
12. Doctor of pharmacology

Total Sources: 12

Institutional Sources: 11

Individual Sources: 1

Hmong Sources: 3

Non-Hmong Sources: 9

ARTICLE #7

Volunteer Suddenly An Alien In
All Worlds

1. Writer who lives in Fresno

Total Sources: 1

Institutional Sources: 0

Individual Sources: 1

Hmong Sources: 0

Non-Hmong Sources: 1

ARTICLE #8

Vang Pao And The CIA: A
Warrior's Rise To Power

1. Hmong educator
2. Former Laotian government official
3. Numerous histories of the era (late 1800s onward) about Laos
4. The Ravens by Christopher Robbins
5. The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia by Alfred W. McCoy
6. Former Vang Pao associates
7. Hamilton County, Montana, land records

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #8 - Continued

8. Divorce records
9. Friends and relatives of Vang Pao
10. Former Green Beret LL Colonel

Total Sources: 10

Institutional Sources: 7

Individual Sources: 3

Hmong Sources: 3

Non-Hmong Sources: 7

ARTICLE *m*

Refugee Leader Fuels A Futile
Dream

1. Vang Pao and other California-based collectors for Neo Horn, the United Front of National Liberation of Laos or "the resistance"
2. Official and unofficial sources in Southeast Asia*
3. Many Hmong refugees and leaders across the United States
4. One of Vang Pao's sons and other Hmong leaders
5. Santa Ana resident (one of the highest ranking Neo Horn officials, and spokesman for Neo Horn)
6. Radio broadcasts by the Laotian government
7. California man who maintains close contact with Hmong in Laos
8. Fresno County Welfare Director
9. 1985 Vang Pao letter to Hmong leaders in the United States
10. One Vang Pao supporter
11. Vang Pao's men
12. An American who has spent considerable time in the large Ban Vinai camp
13. Numerous Hmong leaders
14. A number of refugees; several refugees
15. Letter circulated in Hmong communities in the U.S., Thailand, France and Australia
16. One Hmong family that has cousins in Thailand
17. Confidential sources*
18. A Minnesota man aligned with Vang Pao (Hmong)
19. Close associates of Vang Pao
20. A top adviser to Vang Pao
21. Others not as close to the general
22. One of the general's 20 children born to Vang Pao's six wives

* Entry not counted in totals.

SELECTION OF SOURCES

23. Former Hmong military officers
24. Retired American Lt. Colonel
25. Influential Hmong in Fresno
26. Divorce papers in Montana
27. Another Hmong leader in Fresno
28. St. Paul, Minnesota Hmong leader and Neo Horn activist
29. Santa Ana man who was a high-ranking officer in Vang Pao's command
30. Former key figure in Vang Pao's resistance
31. U.S. government and social service agencies
32. Lao Family officials in Santa Ana, Fresno, and Minnesota
33. Director, Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement
34. One Federal agent
35. FBI agents
36. Director, Kansas agency that distributes funds for refugee programs
37. FBI spokesman in Kansas City
38. Spokesman for Democratic California senator
39. Office of Republican California senator
40. Democratic congressman
41. Republican congressman
42. Hmong leader whose name is on the hit list
43. Vang Pao speeches
44. Video tapes of Neo Horn soldiers
45. Hmong dissidents, former U.S. military officials and others who have studied the subject*
46. Cambodian general (leader of a legitimate resistance force on the border of Cambodia and Laos)
47. Retired American Major General, head of the World Anti-Communist League
48. State Department spokesman on Southeast Asian affairs

Total Sources: 45

Institutional Sources: 23

Individual Sources: 22

Hmong Sources: 27

Non-Hmong Sources: 18

* Entry not counted in totals.

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #10

Barriers Keep Hmong In Culture
Trap

1. Director, County Department of Social Services
2. Hmong community leader
3. Hmong university professor
4. Hmong farmer, former army captain
5. Federal Study by the Office of Refugee Resettlement
6. Hmong Specialist, Office of Refugee Resettlement
7. Unemployed Hmong man
8. Executive Director, Lao Family Community Inc. of Fresno
9. Female Hmong

Total Sources: 9

Institutional Sources: 4

Individual Sources: 5

Hmong Sources: 6

Non-Hmong Sources: 3

ARTICLE #11

Refugees Wait In Vain To Return
Home; Hmong Of Banning Live
Hand-To-Mouth Existence

1. Director, Bilingual Programs, Santa Ana Unified School District (former Laotian government information minister)
2. Hmong man who does odd jobs
3. Orange County man who was among the founders of Lao Family Community
4. "Others interviewed for the article"*
5. Van Pao's sons and other Hmong leaders
6. A Hmong contributor to Neo Horn (the resistance movement), and his neighbor (2)
7. Critics of Neo Horn*
8. A leader of the Hmong community in Fresno
9. Officials of Lao Family Community Inc.
10. Two former officers in the Laotian army, who worked for Lao Family (2)
11. First executive director of the Lao Family in Santa Ana
12. Receptionist at the Lao Family Community office in Santa Ana
13. Neo Horn official and others interviewed in Fresno and Minnesota*
14. Alleged overseer of Neo Horn collections in Santa Ana
15. Neo Horn propaganda videotape

* Entry not counted in totals.

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #11 - Continued

16. Los Angeles attorney for bank that has sued Vang Pao
17. Santa Ana businessman and investor in United Lao Development, and his fellow investor (2)
18. "Several sources, including high-ranking officials in Lao Family"*
19. Nephew of the important adviser to Vang Pao
20. Hmong and Americans who have spent time in refugee camps (2)
21. A Fresno man who has relatives in Thailand

Total Sources: 21

Institutional Sources: 6

Hmong Sources: 14

Individual Sources: 15

Non-Hmong Sources: 7

Entry not counted in totals.

ARTICLE #12

Bound by Love; Learn U.S. Ways,
Get Involved, Experts Urge

1. Academic Counselor for Southeast Asian students at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis
2. Director of multilingual and multicultural education for Fresno Unified School District
3. Associate Dean of Students, Fresno City College
4. Coordinator of Southeast Asian students at Fresno State University

Total Sources: 4

Institutional Sources: 4

Hmong Sources: 0

Individual Sources: 0

Non-Hmong Sources: 4

ARTICLE #13

A Tough Row To Hoe; SE Asian
Farmers Struggling

1. Buyer at a produce shipping business
2. 35-year-old Hmong, farmer, former soldier
3. Director, Fresno's Lao Family Community
4. A 30-year-old Hmong who used to farm in Clovis
5. A 45-year-old Hmong farmer
6. American Farm Advisers
7. President, Laotian Chamber of Commerce
8. General Manager, Cherta Farms (a Southeast Asian-owned grower and shipper)
9. Cherta Farms owner
10. Deputy Agricultural Commissioner Standards Specialist

ARTICLE #13 - Continued

ARTICLE #14
Bound For The Spirit World;
Hmong Healers In U.S.: A
Cultural Clash

SELECTION OF SOURCES

- 11. Commissioner, County Department of Agriculture
- 12. Field representative, Selma-based Sunnyside Packing Co.
- 13. Laotian who farms in Fresno
- 14. A non-Hmong farmer in Clovis
- 15. A non-Hmong farmer in Fresno
- 16. A farmer in Del Rey
- 17. Director, Fresno County Social Services
- 18. Current statistics
- 19. IRS officer based in Fresno

Total Sources: 19	
Institutional Sources: 11	Hmong Sources: 6
Individual Sources: 8	Non-Hmong Sources: 13

- 1. Hmong father of sick child
- 2. Hmong physician
- 3. Hmong woman
- 4. Hmong shaman - male
- 5. Hmong shaman - female
- 6. Another Hmong woman
- 7. Another Hmong physician
- 8. Fresno pediatrician
- 9. Hmong hospital interpreter
- 10. Doctors at medical society meeting
- 11. Public health nurse
- 12. Another Hmong father of sick child

Total Sources: 12	
Institutional Sources: 3	Hmong Sources: 9
Individual Sources: 9	Non-Hmong Sources: 3

SELECTION OF SOURCES

ARTICLE #15

New Home, New Hardships;
Hmong Seeking Solutions. Job
Plan Could Improve Future

1. Hmong teenager
2. Fresno County Office of Refugee Resettlement
3. Administrator of GAIN, a workforce program, and refugee coordinator for Merced County's Human Services Agency
4. Head of the Lao (lowland Laotian) Community Development Association
5. Director, Fresno County Social Services Department
6. Hmong graduate student and oriental market manager

Total Sources: 7

Institutional Sources: 5

Individual Sources: 2

Hmong Sources: 2

Non-Hmong Sources: 5

ARTICLE #16

Tenants Say They're Victims Of
An Uncaring Landlord; Despair
And Disrepair

1. Hmong married couple (2)
2. Hmong apartment building manager
3. Building inspector
4. Hmong apartment tenants
5. Attorneys for Hmong family
6. Apartment owners' insurance company
7. Court deposition of property manager
8. Chief of Housing Standards, City of Fresno
9. Fresno county health officials

Total Sources: 10

Institutional Sources: 5

Individual Sources: 5

Hmong Sources: 4

Non-Hmong Sources: 6

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPER TEXT: CATEGORIES OF SOURCES

ARTICLE	HEADLINE	TOTAL SOURCES	INSTITUTIONAL SOURCES	INDIVIDUAL SOURCES	HMONG SOURCES	NONHMONG SOURCES
#1	Hmong Women Are In Business; Big Market For Their Handiwork	2	1	1	1	1
#2	Teachers Who Speak SE Asian Languages Desperately Needed	12	10	2	3	9
#3	Southeast Asian Groups Are At Odds	12	12	0	1	11
#4	Confined Without A Country; Waiting In Thailand In Hmong Refugee Camp, Fresno Means New Life	30	16	14	12	18
#5	Sudden Deaths of Refugees Declining; But Most Recent Occurred In San Joaquin Valley	7	7	0	1	6
#6	Translators Aid Treatment At Hospitals; Both The Medical Staff, Patients Gain From Insight Of Interpreters	12	11	1	3	9
#7	Volunteer Suddenly An Alien In All Worlds	1	0	1	0	1
#8	Vang Pao And The CIA: A Warrior's Rise To Power	10	7	3	3	7
#9	Refugee Leader Fuels A Futile Dream	45	23	22	27	18
#10	Barriers Keep Hmong In Culture Trap	9	4	5	6	3
#11	Refugees Wait In Vain To Return Home; Hmong Of Banning Live Hand-To-Mouth Existence	21	6	15	14	7
#12	Bound By Love; Learn Us Ways, Get Involved, Experts Urge	4	4	0	0	4
#13	A Tough Row To Hoe, SE Asian Farmers Struggling	19	11	8	6	13
#14	Bound For The Spirit World; Hmong Healers In US: A Cultural Clash	12	3	9	9	3
#15	New Home, New Hardships. Suddenly An Alien In All Worlds	7	5	2	2	5
#16	Tenants Say They're Victims Of An Uncaring Landlord Despair And Disrepair	10	5	5	4	6
TOTALS		213	125	88	92	121

APPENDIX C

NEWSPAPER TEXT: PHOTO CAPTIONS

ARTICLE	CAPTION
#1	1. Shoua Cha, Cher Lee and Jou Vang with a pan dau quilt that is for sale at the Hmong Arts Shop.
#2	No caption.
#3	No caption.
#4	1. The lack of plumbing at the camp means bathing in often-stagnant water from reservoirs. 2. Pa Xiong with her son, Seng, who died two days later.
#5	No caption.
#6	1. Hmong translator Bershoua Yang with nurse Michelle Jett and patient Siane Sengaloune.
#7	No caption.
#8	1. Gen. Vang Pao salutes a student military group during a 1986 visit to a Hmong New Year celebration in Fresno.
#9	1. Gen. Van Pao. 2. Life for Fresno's Hmong often means a odd clash of old and new — such as a visit to a laundromat, baby in tow in a traditionally embroidered sling. 3. Hmong homeland.
#10	1. At Fresno housing project, Lee Pao Moua prepares to take a picture of his mother, Yeng Ziong, to send to relatives in Milwaukee. Hmong leaders say the elderly are having a particularly hard time acculturating to the United States.
#11	1. Fund-raising videotape. 2. Above, a woman whose husband was supposedly killed by communists weeps in a scene from a videotape used by the Neo Hom for fund-raising. Below, the videotape shows a column of about 100 men, purportedly marching from Thailand to Laos.
#12	1. Dr. Dao Yang, Ruth L. Home, Deborah Tkeda, Katsuyo Howard.
#13	1. Leng Lee, manager of Cherta Farms, displays sugar peas while a Cherta Farms' worker marks boxes for shipment 2. Choua Moua Thao weeds snow peas on an early winter afternoon on the 14-acre farm she and her husband Vang Houa Thao own in Clovis.
#14	1. A rope tied loosely around Chia Mee Her and her son, Cha Yee Yang, connects them to two pigs, not in photo, behind them. 2. Chia Mee Her looks on as friends and relatives move her sofa from the living room. The room has to be cleared to allow for room for a shaman ceremony, which Her hopes will free her from aches and pains and counteract the bad omen of a bird's having flown into her house. 3. Above, shaman Chia Yee Vang bangs a metal drum as part of the ceremony. Her's son, Cha Yee Yang, is seated on the shaman's table. The shaman will ask the soul of the pig to guard Yang's soul in the spirit world. At left, Zong Chai Yang totes the live pig into the living room at the beginning of the ceremony. 4. Vang Tou Xiong, left, hasn't practiced as a shaman since a car accident. At right are his wife, Xe Vue, and child, Yeng Xiong.
#15	1. Hurt by lack of job skills, Cha Xiong is learning English in hopes of eventually finding employment. His wife Yer Yant is at right. 2. Tom Her, manager of A&H Oriental Market, says Hmong face great obstacles in America.
#16	1. Bee Yang's landing into his second-story apartment is rotted away. Yang keeps a piece of wood over the hole. His wife tries to keep the children inside. 2. From left, Tang, 6, David, 5, mother May Yang, and Nou Chi, 1, peer through twine that Mrs. Yang strung up. 3. David Hovannisian's Fresno properties houses, apartments.

APPENDIX D

NEWSPAPER TEXT: LEADS AND CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

LEADS

ARTICLE #1

For centuries, the Hmong women of Southeast Asia made applique pieces called pandau for their everyday and ceremonial clothing and for household use.

Today, as refugees transplanted in Fresno, some of them have turned their handicraft into a "cottage industry" that could go nationwide.

ARTICLE #2

Fresno schools, responsible for teaching English to at least 5,300 Southeast Asian children, have not one teacher fluent in a Southeast Asian language.

In California, the state that wants everyone to know that English is its official language, that might not seem unusual. But state laws requires bilingual instruction when the number of limited-English speakers in a certain language reaches levels of 10 pupils or more per grade at any school.

This is happening at Fresno schools like Hidalgo and Wolters elementaries, where at least half the pupils are Asian. A number of aides and a handful of interpreters are being used, but no teachers are credentialed for instruction in the three most common Asian languages-Hmong, Lao or Khmer (Cambodian).

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #1

She said that the shop's customers are curious about the efforts involved in producing the stitchery and about the Hmong themselves.

"American people ask how long it takes to make" the items and what the designs mean, Moua said. "Some Americans don't understand about the Hmong. They ask what country we're from, why we're here."

So along with taking care of business and preserving Hmong culture, Moua and the two American volunteers fulfill the shop's other purpose: educating the public about a people who befriended the American military during the Vietnam War and then were forced to flee Communist persecution after the fall of Saigon.

ARTICLE #2

In the meantime, some Southeast Asians say they want to get into teaching but have been discouraged because they don't speak English as if they had been born in Beverly Hills.

Cousins Xai Her and Neng Her were studying mathematics at Fresno State University in the spring of 1985 when they went to see an adviser about studying for a secondary teaching credential. The Hers said the adviser told them their English was poor, that they would not pass the CBEST, and that they would be better off looking into a different line of work.

"Because we are yellow people he thinks we are stupid," Xai Her said.

Nevertheless, Xai Her, who has since transferred to Fresno City College, and Neng Her, who is still at FSU, intend to become math teachers.

"I want to have the opportunity to encourage our generation, especially my clan," Xai Her said. "I know that I have limited English; that's why I chose math for a major.

"I want a degree. I want to teach math."

LEADS

ARTICLE #3

For the first time since they began arriving in Fresno County more than a decade ago, there is public unrest among Southeast Asian ethnic groups.

At the conflict's core is \$296,041 awarded to the county last year for a one-year program of translation and advocacy services to help refugees adjust to life here.

After lengthy discussions nearly a year ago, members of the four refugee races-the Hmong, Lowland Lao, Cambodians and Vietnamese - agreed to plan the project together and allow the Hmong-run association Lao Family Community to handle the money as official fiscal agent

Now representatives of the Vietnamese community are angry. They believe Lao Family has tried to control the program's planning through underhanded and unscrupulous means. In protest they have stopped attending the planning meetings and are trying to pull out of the program altogether, with the Cambodian community not far behind.

ARTICLE #4

To the Hmong people, the monotonous boom of the medicine man's drums means death is near.

In the refugee camp near the Thai border, the drums are never silent.

Ban Vinai is the only city in the world with more Hmong than Fresno. Forty-three thousand people, roughly the population of Clovis, live in an area one-third the size of Bulldog Stadium. (The football stadium of California State University, Fresno).

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #3

But the Vietnamese Association has effectively pulled out anyway. Chau has not attended planning meetings since the end of October and the Vietnamese Association says a Vietnamese person temporarily sitting in on the meetings does not represent their organization.

Chau believed she had reached a dead end in her efforts until heated complaints about the project began to dominate a Dec. 11 public meeting of Vietnamese regarding use of another government grant.

To bring the meeting back on track, county social worker Cathi Huerta offered to set up a separate meeting with Chau to discuss her concerns. That meeting has since been scheduled for Thursday.

ARTICLE #4

Far from the din of politics in Pa Xiong's hut, women gather around Seng's corpse: a small cylinder wrapped in a burlap sack. They sing a Hmong chant that follows the pitch and pace of sobbing. They roll the body back and forth.

For three days, the mourning will continue. Then Seng will be buried at the edge of camp.

Pa breaks away from the group long enough to ask a friend to address a letter to her brother in Fresno.

"Tell my brother I will try to come," she said. "Tell him my son is dead."

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to

LEADS

ARTICLE #5

Although fewer cases of "sudden unexpected death syndrome" are occurring among Southeast Asian refugees since the mysterious condition peaked in 1982, all of the recent deaths in California have occurred in the San Joaquin Valley.

"In the San Joaquin, Merced and Fresno area, we've had more recent cases," said Dr. Gib Parrish, a medical epidemiologist at the U.S. Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, Ga.

CDC officials say 117 men and one woman have died in their sleep without warning since reports of the mysterious condition first appeared in 1981. Of the 36 deaths reported in California, the five most recent victims were Hmong men living in the central San Joaquin Valley.

ARTICLE #6

Bershoua Yang, a Hmong translator at Valley Medical Center, leaned over a patient in the intensive care ward and spoke to the woman in her native language.

"Kuv yog txais lus. Kuv pab kojpuastaus?" he said. "I am the interpreter. May I help you?" The woman smiled. "Kojmob qhovtwg?" he said. "Where is the pain?"

The woman responded, and Yang translated her words into English for the nurse, who was able to provide the proper care with certainty.

Nearly half the patients at VMC in Fresno, the major trauma center for the San Joaquin Valley, speak English as a second language - or do not speak English at all. Translators in Hmong, Spanish and a range of languages such as Arabic, Cambodian, Chinese, Hindustani, Farsi, Punjabi, Tagalog, Thai, Turkish, Urdu and Vietnamese are now an important part of the medical team.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #5

The initial report suggesting a link between the mysterious deaths and a diet high in white rice prompted concern among refugees about the quality of the rice sold in the United States, Vang said.

Although most white rice sold here has vitamins added to it, refugees generally wash the rice before cooking it and consequently wind up losing the added vitamins.

"When you rinse it, the little white water that comes out is part of the enrichment," said Penny Elek, manager of the University of California Cooperative Extension's expanded food nutrition education program for refugees.

Elek said efforts are being made to teach refugees to prepare the rice without washing it to avoid the loss of vitamins.

ARTICLE #6

In addition to staff members, Fresno Community Hospital offers translation for 130 languages through the Regional Poison Center. The seven-county system provides a phone hookup with Emergency Translation Service in Monterey, which provides immediate translation of 30 languages and on-call service for an additional 100 languages.

"We're very happy with the service," said Brent Ekins, a doctor of pharmacology. "We get about 10 calls a month and the service has been excellent"

LEADS

ARTICLE #7

I was late to work but the red light caught me at Olive and Chestnut. A young Asian woman in a long cotton skirt and head scarf crossed the street, holding her little boy by the hand. He was jumping along, swinging a backpack and wearing a yellow Garfield T-shirt and new white Nikes. As they passed in front of my car, the woman turned her head and we looked at each other. Then they were on the other curb.

I had never seen her before, and I didn't know if she was Hmong or Laotian or Vietnamese, or what hardships had brought her here. Her expression was cautious and unreadable. But I felt a sudden painful empathy.

ARTICLE #8

The Hmong educator was explaining to an American just how powerful and important Gen. Vang Pao is to the Hmong refugees.

On a napkin he wrote "Ronald Reagan," who was president at the time. Several inches above that, he wrote, "God."

Halfway in between, he wrote "Vang Pao."

He was not exaggerating. Vang Pao is king, president, general, father figure and near-god to many of the 105,000 Hmong refugees in the United States.

To his many followers, Vang Pao is the ultimate freedom fighter, a man who has devoted his life to battling communism.

To his many detractors, however, he is a symbol of political corruption, a tool of the CIA and, at bottom, a glorified opium trafficker.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #7

I stood at the baggage claims, barelegged and shivering. The motel and the bathtub were waiting, but I felt dazed. Instead of coming home, I seemed to be going farther away than ever. In Paulau I had been a foreigner, but for a few hours at the L.A. airport in October 1969, I was truly displaced. I was a refugee.

I'll never forget it.

ARTICLE #8

In 1981, Vang Pao became involved with the privately funded efforts of former Green Beret LL Col. James "Bo" Gritz to find U.S. servicemen missing in action in Laos.

The general provided two groups of Thailand-based soldiers to Gritz at the request of U.S. Rep. Robert Dornan, R-Garden Grove.

The mission was unsuccessful and Gritz later charged, again and again, that his efforts had been sabotaged by U.S. intelligence agents concerned that he would uncover evidence of U.S. involvement in drug trafficking.

LEADS

ARTICLE #9

The war is not over for the Hmong of America.

Jilted by the U.S. government and betrayed by the general who led them into battle, they have no real home.

They have been in exile in America for 15 years but they live like fresh refugees in the cheap apartments and stark projects of Fresno and other cities.

Rather than build new lives, many wait for Gen. Vang Pao to take them back to Laos.

They wait, in vain, while Gen. Vang Pao and associates high in the rigid Hmong hierarchy extract their money by exploiting their homesickness.

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The so-called resistance "is holding on to the illusion of the past," the official said. "As far as individuals making money for this, that is morally wrong.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE *m*

The so-called resistance "is holding on to the illusion of the past," the official said. "As far as individuals making money for this, that is morally wrong.

"The war is over. The people who won the war are running the country now."

Before the U.S. involvement in Laos, before Vang Pao was a general, the most important Hmong leader was Touby Lyfoung. He once said of the young Vang Pao: "He is a pure military officer who doesn't understand that after the war there is a peace."

LEADS

ARTICLE #10

Nearly two out of every three Hmong in Fresno County are on welfare.

It's a statistic that would alarm most people. But Ernest Velasquez, director of the County's Department of Social Services, finds it encouraging.

After all, he says, a few years ago, the figure was four out of five.

The numbers pointedly illustrate what the experts already know: The acculturation of the 105,000 Hmong in the United States is disturbingly slow, and in some areas there are few signs that it is getting any better.

ARTICLE #11

Banning is a gritty truck-stop town on the highway between Los Angeles and Indio. Not really in the mountains, not quite in the desert, it is no one's idea of the promised land. It is home to 800 Hmong refugees who are beginning to wonder why they are there.

The Hmong of Banning are living remnants of a decade-old plan to reclaim their homeland in Laos. They are the peas in Gen. Vang Pao's international shell game.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #10

"Sia Mone Xiong said the most difficult part about coming to America was learning English. Her first ride on a bus here turned into unplanned sightseeing tour of Long Beach because she didn't know how to stop the bus.

"I heard the 'tinging' (to stop the bus), but I couldn't see how it was made," she said recently from her Tulare duplex. "I couldn't speak English, so I couldn't ask anyone."

She took the advice of a friend and began watching "The Big Valley" and "Bonanza" on television. She picked up the rest of her English by listening to people and going to school. It took her five years to become fluent enough to carry on a conversation with people.

ARTICLE #11

Half a world from Ban Vinai, a large apartment complex near the southeast Fresno intersection of Willow and Kings Canyon avenues is occupied almost exclusively by Hmong refugees.

It is a modern, landscaped complex of two-story buildings. It is clean and it has a swimming pool and laundry rooms.

The complex is within walking distance of a supermarket. But when a produce truck rolls through with fresh fruits or vegetables for sale, the residents stream out of the apartments. There is grass but no place for gardens like home.

The Hmong of Fresno call the complex Ban Vinai. They are, after all these years, still refugees waiting to go home.

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LEADS

ARTICLE #12

A Hmong teen-ager tells his parents he's doing fine in school, then fakes a signature on a report card that is filled with poor grades.

A Cambodian girl tells her family that she needs money for school, then uses it to buy makeup and new clothes.

A Vietnamese boy tells his parents he is studying at the library and, instead, meets a gang to prowl the streets.

In all of these instances, the Southeast Asian parents are easily deceived because they don't know enough about the school system in America.

ARTICLE #13

Hmong farmer selling his Chinese long beans to a local produce shipper a few years ago got a quick lesson in American business etiquette.

The buyer threw the crate of beans to the floor after weighing it. The crate smashed, beans spilling from it.

"Take the crate home and repack it, or leave it here and we'll see what we can get for it," he told the farmer.

The buyer was showing the farmer that the crate weighed too much. The farmer who spoke no English left, upset and confused.

Although such hostile misunderstandings occur far less often these days, refugees still find Fresno County agriculture a tough row to hoe.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #12

The community should hire more advisers, counselors and teachers.

Howard: "These kids have a real identity crisis. There's a lot of cultural pressure at home and yet they are trying to fit into the American way of living. Their own psychological progress is very chaotic and they don't have enough skill to cope with this."

Yang: "Parents should meet together and share experiences about the education of their children. They should share ideas about how to support their children with more efficiency."

Parents should allow students to dress so they fit in.

Yang: "Southeast Asian teen-agers want to be Americanized. They want to look like the other teen-agers. It helps them feel comfortable at school."

Home: "It would be wonderful if they could focus on fine American qualities, but they want to be like their American peers and get into their styles, hairdos, makeup, dating practices. Clothing especially helps the student feel part of his peer group."

ARTICLE #13

Tony Vang, Lao Family Community director, believes the only farmers who will succeed are those who are skilled and have equipment.

And most of the farmers interviewed say they want their children to do other work.

"Teen-agers don't want to farm. The parents had no choice. They had no education so they had to farm," said Leng Lee of Cherta Farms.

LEADS

ARTICLE #14

The path from Ka Ker Cha's Fresno home to the spirit world is traced upon his ceiling.

A pattern of strings and bamboo represent the paths and bridges traveled by the soul of Cha, a Hmong shaman, or spiritual healer. He crosses these bridges while searching for the lost soul of his sick patient; his task is to restore it

But the shaman's path, as the Hmong of Laos have become exposed to Western medical practices since Saigon fell in 1975, increasingly crosses the road traveled by American physicians.

ARTICLE #15

Two years ago, leaders of this country's 110,000 Hmong met in Atlanta to discuss the future of the Hmong in America.

Although scattered in communities of various sizes from Providence, R.I., to Santa Ana, the leaders - especially in larger population centers -- agreed that getting off welfare and finding a job was the single biggest hurdle facing the heads of many Hmong families.

Numerous possible solutions were discussed. Now government agencies and Hmong leaders are preparing to put those proposals to the test in Fresno and Merced counties.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #14

"Chai Xiong's young son has a problem with his skull, and doctors have had to insert shunts to drain fluid.

They have suggested operations to repair the situation. Chai Xiong, who is familiar with the court fight over young Kou Xiong's clubfeet, expects that he, too, will somehow be backed into a corner.

Yet he is adamant: There will be no operation.

He talks of moving to another city. Or of a mysterious black magic that can kill a man's enemy from miles away by transporting a rock into his body.

'I'd rather die than let them operate on my son," he said. Then again, maybe the doctor will die first, he says. Maybe he or she will develop a tumor the size of a stone and try to assault it with chemotherapy.

How foolish. Chai Xiong knows that such a stone can only be removed by a shaman."

ARTICLE #15

Agricultural practices are so different from the slash-and-burn practices of Laos that Hmong have difficulty succeeding in the one job they know, Her said. And the high concentrations of Hmong in Fresno are keeping the Hmong from assimilating and acquiring English.

Nevertheless, Her said, the project can succeed if two things happen: If Hmong, from elders to children, believe that the project is well-designed and can serve them, and if the type of light industry that pays well but demands little English can be attracted to the valley.

LEADS

ARTICLE #16

The first baby fell in March 1988. Shong Yang, 2, passed through a 7-inch gap in the apartment's railing and landed on the asphalt 9 1/2 feet below.

Her brother, Tou Lue, fell from the same second floor last July. Then 18 months old, he crawled under a bottom rail and plunged to the pavement, his parents said through an interpreter.

His sister was only bruised and scraped. But Tou Lue lost consciousness, and doctors told his parents that it might take years to determine whether the bump on his head would become something more serious.

For Ker Yang and Mai Lee of Fresno, parents of the two, there is more to wonder about than the bump on the boy's head. They wonder whether it will happen again.

They are among the tenants who accuse their landlord of neglecting their apartments ~ neglect that has caused fear and concern among Southeast Asians, the majority of the tenants in Fresno apartment complexes belonging to John and David Bruce Hovannisian.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

ARTICLE #16

The pool had been cited three separate times since the girl's death of being dirty or green with algae.

Each time the county gave the Hovannisians five days to clean *it*. Each time they complied. Last December, the pool was given a passing grade at its initial inspection.

Because of Melia's death, the Hmong residents who watched her being pulled from the pool have learned to call the Health Department when the water turns green.

It is progress.

APPENDIX E

NEWSPAPER TEXT: STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

- * 400 Hmong women display handiwork in Hmong Arts shop.
- * 20% of sales price used to pay shop expenses.
- * Hmong Arts shop has doubled its sales up to about \$50,000 in the last two years.
- * Top sellers make a couple hundred dollars a month, but most earn only \$10-\$ 15 monthly.
- * Hmong Arts applied for a \$10,000 federal grant, which is administered by the state.
- * The highest-priced item sold by the shop was a \$400 bedspread that represented hundreds of hours of handiwork.

- * Fresno schools, responsible for teaching English to at least 5,300 Southeast Asian children, have not one teacher fluent in a Southeast Asian language.
- * State law requires bilingual instruction when the number of limited-English speakers in a certain language reaches levels of 10 pupils or more per grade at any school.
- * The district employs about 90 bilingual Spanish teachers for 3,500 pupils. Only 300 fewer pupils have been identified in Hmong alone as having limited English skills.
- * According to the state Department of Education, California has a need for 338 bilingual teachers in Hmong, Lao and Cambodian. There are two.
- * "Any class more than 50 percent refugee should have a bilingual instructor."
- * The district employs 23 Asians in classroom aide positions, five as bilingual liaisons between home and school and six as cultural specialists.
- * Thirteen teachers of Asian descent were hired, but none speak the Southeast Asian languages.
- * Asian children make up 13 percent of the city's pupils.
- * Asian enrollment within the school (Fresno State School of Education) stands at 85, or 3.6 percent.
- * Two school districts (Santa Ana and St. Paul) have seen their refugee student populations grow from nothing to more than 10 percent in the last decade.
- * The Santa Ana Unified School District has hired six Vietnamese teachers with credentials and employs about 70 Southeast Asian instructional assistants.
- * More than 80 percent of funding (in Santa Ana) comes from district general funds.
- * St. Paul, Minnesota, public schools have hired seven Hmong and three Cambodian teachers for bilingual classrooms, but all but one are not fully licensed. "Our kindergartens are about 20 percent Asian. We can see the handwriting on the wall. This will be our district in 20 years."

STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

- ARTICLE #3
- * \$296,041 awarded to the county last year for a one-year program of translation and advocacy services.
 - * Of an estimated 30,000 Southeast Asian refugees in Fresno County, more than half are Hmong.
 - * There are about 6,000 Lowland Lao, about 2,000 Vietnamese and nearly 2,000 Cambodians.
 - * Up to 85 percent of them (Hmong) are on welfare.
 - * Fewer than a quarter of the Vietnamese are on welfare.
 - * 90 percent of the Lowland Lao are on welfare and particularly needy of the project's help.
- ARTICLE #4
- * Forty-three thousand people (Hmong in the refugee camp) live in an area one-third the size of Bulldog Stadium (the football stadium of California State University, Fresno).
 - * Fresno, a place where 18,000 relatives and friends have found new life.
 - * A recent camp wide rodent-trapping competition netted 9,000 rat tails in two months.
 - * Only about half of those (people who have applied to resettle overseas) will qualify and be flown to a new home by a sponsoring agency or a benevolent church or family.
 - * Records show that fewer than half of the camp's children-mostly boys-attend school.
 - * 14 voluntary agencies provide camp services.
 - * One hundred Hmong now are trained nurses and medics. Infant mortality has dropped from 32 to 28 per 1,000. By contrast, Fresno's rate is about nine per 1,000.
 - * Last year, more than half the Ban Vinai children younger than 5 had received a measles vaccine and about a fifth had gotten a DPT (diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus) vaccination.
 - * Ban Vinai mothers gave birth to nearly 3,000 children. A third of the camp population now is younger than 5.
 - * The camp population would double by the year 2001.
 - * Last year, more than 4,000 hill tribe Lao-mostly Hmong-made the journey into Thailand. At least 700 of those sneaked into Ban Vinai.
 - * In mid-February, 16 Hmong were killed, 70 more injured.
 - * 22,000 Cambodian refugees still live in Khao-I-Dang, a camp near the Thai-Cambodian border.
 - * Chiang-Kham (a U.N.-supported camp) is temporary home to about 12,000 newly arrived Hmong and Lao.
 - * Letting the Hmong become Thai residents might mean also welcoming 84,000 Lowland Lao, 26,000 Cambodians and 7,000 Vietnamese. 3,066 refugees sent back to Laos during the past six years are safe and happy. Of those, less than a third were from the hill tribes, some of them Hmong.
- . . . estimated the (resistance) troop census at 10,000.
- On a per-capita population scale, the United States ranks fifth in number of admissions (of refugees), while Norway and Japan come in first and second.
- This year, the ceiling for Southeast Asian admissions to the United States will be 32,000, down from 72,000 in 1982.

STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

- ARTICLE #5
- * CDC (U.S. Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, GA) officials say 117 men and one woman have died in their sleep without warning since reports of the mysterious condition first appeared in 1981. Of the 36 deaths reported in California, the five most recent victims were Hmong men living in the central San Joaquin Valley.
 - * The most recent of four deaths reported in Fresno County occurred in 1987. Other valley deaths include two in Merced County and three in San Joaquin.
 - * The Ban Vinai refugee camp is home to 43,000 Hmong refugees in Thailand.
 - * The rate of sudden death among refugees was 92 deaths per 100,000 refugees. At one camp outside Bangkok, the death rate was seven times as high as that reported by the CDC.
- ARTICLE #6
- * Nearly half the patients at VMC (Valley Medical Center) in Fresno speak English as a second language or do not speak English at all.
 - * Spanish translators are available around the clock and Hmong translators are on duty 16 hours a day Monday through Friday.
 - * About 90 percent of the translators are excellent, but the skill of the remaining 10 percent ranges from good to poor.
 - * At St. Agnes (hospital), about 170 people who speak more than 30 languages, including Dutch, Hebrew, Hindu, Russian, Persian, Swedish and Turkish, are available.
 - * Fresno Community Hospital offers translation for 130 languages through the Regional Poison Center.
 - * We get about 10 calls a month (at the Regional Poison Center) and the service has been excellent.
- ARTICLE #7
- No statistics.
- ARTICLE #8
- * 105,000 Hmong refugees in the United States.
 - * He (Vang Pao) and a group of 2,000 Hmong leaders were airlifted out first.
 - * The ranch cost \$360,000, and the large, rundown house he moved his relatives into cost \$50,000 more.
 - * Vang Pao said his salary from 1960 to 1975 had been 100,000 Laotian kip a month or roughly \$200.

STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

ARTICLE #9

- * They (the Hmong) have been in exile in America for 15 years.
- * Fifty-thousand Hmong were killed (in Vietnam War)--10% of the Hmong population.
- * "I cannot say if it is half (of collected resistance money) or more than half (that makes it)."
- * There are 105,000 Hmong in the United States~26,000 of them in Fresno County, the largest settlement outside of Southeast Asia.
- * Their nearly primitive society had no written language until 40 years ago.
- * The annual total (collected for the resistance) topped \$1 million in the peak years of 1984 and 1985.
- * Neo Horn needed \$60,000 for medicine and the money to buy 4,000 guns, 20,000 uniforms, 60,000 pairs of shoes, 20,000 pairs of socks and 20 handheld radios.
- * 80 percent (of Hmong immigrants) regularly contribute.
- * One letter circulated in Hmong communities in the U.S., Thailand, France and Australia contains a 63-name hit list.
- * Cha Vang is one of more than 20 children born to Vang Pao's six wives.
- * His highest pay as a general was the equivalent of \$200 per month.
- * Vang Pao said he was living on \$1,500 per month and, from that amount, was helping to support 18 relatives.
- * Roughly one-third, or 100,000, of the Hmong in Laos and China remained neutral during the Vietnam conflict and the secret spinoff wars in Cambodia and Laos. A like number fought with the Communists. The remaining third served under Vang Pao's command as contract soldiers for the CIA.
- * 80 percent of the refugees in the U.S. regularly pay Neo Horn because of their disenchantment with the United States.
- * The federal government spends \$200 million annually on welfare and other programs for the Hmong.

STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

- ARTICLE #10
- * Nearly 2 out of 3 Hmong are on welfare.
 - * 4 out of 5 Hmong were on welfare a few years ago.
 - * 105,000 Hmong in U.S.
 - * 1/2 of old Hmong want to return to Laos.
 - * One man knows about 10 people who committed suicide in eight years due to pressures of living here.
 - * San Joaquin Valley home to more Hmong than anywhere in the world outside of Southeast Asia.
 - * In 1981, there were fewer than 500 Hmong in Fresno County. The big influx began in 1982. Today, there are an estimated 25,000 in Fresno and 7,500 in Merced.
 - * In places like Fresno County, where the unemployment rate is 10.7 percent-well above the national average~(finding a job) becomes nearly impossible.
 - * Of the 26,000 Southeast Asians receiving public assistance, 15,482 are Hmong. The other groups represented are Vietnamese, Lowland Lao and Cambodian.
 - * Hmong leaders received \$80,000 in seed money from the federal government for another (networking) session this year to discuss high welfare dependency.
 - * Only 10 percent of the Hmong received any education in Laos. Until 40 years ago, they didn't have a written language.
- ARTICLE #11
- * Banning is home to 800 Hmong refugees.
 - * The women sew or travel 20 miles in vans to Palm Springs to work as hotel maids, also at minimum wage.
 - * With 10,000 families participating, the resistance would have a cash flow of \$1 million a month from the start.
 - * They make monthly payments of \$10 to \$20 (to the resistance).
 - * Some relatively affluent and influential Hmong make regular payments of \$500 to \$1,000 to Vang Pao.
 - * On one block of the subdivision, three families each paid \$500 to Vang Pao's resistance in April.
 - * It is a government-in-exile founded in 1982 in Paris by eight men who had been officials of the Lao government before 1975.
 - * He lives with his wife and her family in a \$270,000 split-level house. His wife's part-time factory job pays less than \$7 per hour.
 - * A hundred men or so walk in single file across an airstrip.
 - * The lawsuit is over a \$140,000 loan from Thai Farmers to United Lao Development.
 - * In 1981, United Lao Development invested approximately \$750,000 in a small Garden Grove grocery store.
 - * A Santa Ana businessman acquired 6,335 shares of United Lao Development stock in December 1981.
 - * He and his wife paid \$84,000 for their home at 2333 N. Price Ave.
 - * The largest Hmong refugee camp in Thailand is Ban Vinai. The camp is home to more than 40,000 Hmong refugees living almost on top of each other. The State Department notified 7,000 this spring that they were eligible to settle in the United States. Only 300 came.

STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

- ARTICLE #12 No statistics.
- ARTICLE #13
- * "It costs \$200 for the (land) lease. If I grow sugar peas, I get \$1 or \$2 an hour." Elsewhere, "I make \$4 an hour."
 - * They pay inflated land rental rates»\$250-\$300 an acre--on land that typically would lie vacant
 - * They're told they'll get \$10 a box, no problem, only to get that for just one or two boxes, earning \$6 or \$7 on the rest
 - * Between 250 and 375 Southeast Asian farmers-Hmong, Laotian, Vietnamese, Cambodian and Thai--are estimated to make their living off farms or gardens of between one and 10 acres in Fresno County. A few farm 15 or more acres.
 - * Early in the 1980s, several programs helped Southeast Asian refugees who wanted to farm, including the Lao Family Agricultural Training Program, federally funded at \$900,000 in 1984.
 - * The market price was \$10 a box, but when the check for his 100 boxes sent to the packinghouse came, only 10 boxes had sold for \$10 and the other 90 for \$6.
 - * In a good year, he made \$3,000 to \$5,000 an acre profit but other years, there was no profit. "I spent \$5,000 on cherry tomatoes (one year) and only got \$5,000 back.
 - * He works 12 hours a day, seven days a week.
 - * He's paying \$150 an acre rent and an additional \$300 a month for irrigation water.
 - * 15-20 percent of the vegetables are sold through Cherta Farms.
 - * In 1982, 50 percent of the sugar pea crop rotted in the field because there was no market.
 - * We sometimes ended up paying for the boxes and ended up losing 50 cents a pound.
 - * SK (grower/shipper) provides Southeast Asian farmers land, water, seed and boxes in exchange for buying the growers' vegetables at a commission of between 10 and 20 percent. SK vegetables are grown on about 160 acres in Fresno County.
 - * In 1986 county ag investigators recorded six violations (of chemical misuse).
 - * Records from 1984-1989 reveal that Southeast Asian farmers are by far in the minority when it comes to pesticide violations. For example, of the 88 violators in 1988, just one was a Southeast Asian; in 1987, refugee farmers accounted for nine of 115 violations.
 - * It takes 15 people to pick one acre.
 - * Produce brokers see the Southeast Asians as the major players in the vegetable market in the next 15 to 20 years.
- ARTICLE #14 No statistics.

STATISTICS AND NUMERICAL INFORMATION

- ARTICLE #15
- * Two years ago, leaders of this country's 110,000 Hmong met in Atlanta to discuss the future of the Hmong in America.
 - * Fresno County estimates that it is home to 29,500 Hmong refugees; about 7,500 live in Merced. About 65 percent of the valley's Hmong remain on welfare.
 - * Each county would earmark \$250,000 of federal refugee money. The Refugee Resettlement office would add \$200,000 in Fresno County and \$100,000 in Merced County during the coming fiscal year.
- ARTICLE #16
- * The first baby fell in March 1988. Shong Yang, 2, passed through a 7-inch gap in the apartment's railing and landed on the asphalt 9-1/2 feet below.
 - * David Hovannisian's houses and apartments bring in about \$2 million in rent every year. The Hovannisians and their wives own about 650 rental units in and around Fresno. The estimate assumes 90 percent occupancy and an average rent of \$285 per month.
 - * They have suffered 2-1/2 years without heat
 - * The Hovannisians' insurance company, without admitting liability, agreed on Jan. 14 this year to pay \$150,000 to Melia's family.
 - * A bank statement John Hovannisian provided for a lawsuit in 1976 showed his net worth to be \$2.26 million. Property records show that he now owns just over 1,000 parcels of land in the valley, including more than 460 houses and apartment buildings.
 - * His acquisitions now house about 500 families.
 - * Within three days the 20 vacant units in the complex were filled.
 - * "We cater to them (the Southeast Asians). We have thousands of them as tenants."
 - * His wife and five children have waited 2-1/2 years for the heater in their apartment to be repaired.
 - * The rent averages about \$285 for two bedrooms.

APPENDIX F

NEWSPAPER TEXT: SELECTION OF QUOTES

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #1

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1) Manager, Hmong Arts shop in Fresno | 1. (Hmong women) "are happy that Hmong are running the shop and can talk in their own language."
2. "I kept telling that ladies that I'll try to do as good as Elaine. Now the shop is still running."
3. "American people ask how long it takes to make" (the items and what the designs mean). "Some Americans don't understand about the Hmong. They ask what country we're from, why we're here." |
| 2) Former manager, Hmong Arts shop | 1. "After the article in Quilt magazine, we got letters from all over the country, so we set up a small price list. But people wanted more than a price list, they wanted to see examples, so we thought a catalog was in order."
2. "They've gone into earth tones and pastels because that is what Americans like. There's not much point in making them if they don't sell." |

ARTICLE #2

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|---|--|
| 1) Director, Multilingual and Multicultural Education, Fresno Unified School District | 1. "This is a concern not just of this district but statewide. We're all having difficulty in finding Lao, Cambodian and Hmong teachers." |
| 2) Executive Director, Lao Family Community Inc. | 1. "Any class more than 50 percent refugee should have a bilingual instructor. So many kids walk into classes blind and struggle for six months."
2. "Very soon you're going to see the Asian children . . . pregnant at 12 or 14. Asian parents aren't getting the right information about year-round schools. Overcrowding does not just concern the (white) parents. It concerns the refugee parents as well."
3. "If we don't say anything (district administrators) will keep doing what they're doing and think everything is fine." |
| 3) Consultant, Bilingual Program, St. Paul, Minnesota | 1. "Our kindergartens are about 20 percent Asian. We can see the handwriting on the wall. This will be our district in 20 years." |
| 4) Superintendent, Fresno Unified School District | 1. "We have an asinine law. The law doesn't recognize the problem we face." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #2 - Continued

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|---|---|
| 5) Consultant, Bilingual Office, California State Department of Education | 1. "Since they are in an impacted language they are not even required to take a language course. A lot of teachers don't mind going on a waiver for Hmong because they don't have to do anything." |
| 6) Hmong student at California State University, Fresno | 1. "Because we are yellow people he thinks we are stupid."
2. "I want to have the opportunity encourage our generation, especially my clan. I know that I have limited English; that's why I chose math for a major. I want a degree. I want to teach math." |

ARTICLE #3

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|--|---|
| 1) President, Vietnamese Association | 1. "They just do whatever they want to do--it's a dirty game. I won't go back (to the meetings) unless I see something more fair."
2. "He needed a translator. He doesn't even speak English. Now what does that tell you?" |
| 2) Former representative, Cambodian steering committee | 1. "They say they are only fiscal agent, but they want to have power to do more."
2. (Lao Family staff were giving) "advice about who to choose, who not to choose."
3. "It's a big mess." |
| 3) Chairwoman, translation and advocacy program steering committee | 1. "My sense is there's a lot of personal kinds of stuff (between them) that tended to color whole committee meetings."
2. "Lao Family has taken a more active leadership role in the project than the other (refugee groups), mainly because of their capability. Being fiscal agent gave them more responsibility and they are the only ones who have the staff to get materials out, type things up and so on."
3. "... the majority of people who work with refugees here have some contact with Lao Family." |
| 4) Associate Director, Lao Family Community, Inc. | 1. (The President of the Vietnamese Association) "had a problem with majority rule. I think Chinh has a personal problem with the fact that there are so many Hmong, and Lao Family carries a lot of weight."
2. "It was real frustrating. Everyone was under a time crunch-the county wanted this project going."
3. "Let's just say it takes a lot to get me that angry. There are two sides to the story. . . . When someone makes accusations, you have to look at the source." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #3 - Continued

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|---|---|
| 5) Refugee employment counselor with Catholic Charities | 1. (The Director of Lao Family Community, Inc.) "has hired onto the staff people who are the heads of the different associations-that puts him in this power position" |
| 6) Leader, Lowland Lao refugees | 1. "I am working there now. I don't see any problem with Lao Family. It's confusing for Chinh, maybe."
2. "I don't want to see the agencies fighting (but) in my opinion, no one's thinking about how much problem the refugees have." |
| 7) Deputy County Counsel, Fresno County | 1. "Absent some kind of proof, I don't want people coming in and calling each other names. When I didn't have anything to go on, what was I supposed to do?"
2. "We agreed to contract with the four groups and the four groups agreed to provide the services. Any one group can't pull out, at least as far as we're concerned." |
| 8) Fresno City Manager | 1. "I would like to straighten out the problems. I'm not going to recommend any more money if we can't sort things out--if people can't get along." |

ARTICLE #4

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|--|---|
| 1) Refugee camp resident, Thailand | 1. "He went to the hospital once for trouble with his eye. It did not help."
2. "Tell my brother I will try to come. Tell him my son is dead." |
| 2) Hmong resident of Fresno, brother of Thai refugee camp resident, who was relocated in U.S. by CIA | 1. "When I left, I left very early. She had gone out to do some farming. When she came back, I was gone. She cried a lot."
2. "I just do not care anymore. I told her it was not healthy there, that there is disease I told her to come over here." |
| 3) Hmong janitor, Fresno schools | 1. "I worked as a radio operator for the CIA. A colonel said, 'If you can help us, you can save your country and stay here. If we lose the war, we can help you and get your people out of the country.' He told me, 'Don't worry about that.'" |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #4 - Continued

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|---|---|
| 4) Hmong practical nurse at Thai refugee camp hospital | 1. "Oh yes, Fresno. My brother lives in Fresno."
2. "I tell my brother we want to go, but people here are my people, too. We work very hard here. We try to help them." |
| 5) 67-year old Hmong Thai refugee camp resident | 1. "I don't know what to do. I do not want to live here (in Ban Vinai), but there's no place else to live. I want to go to Laos, but I don't want to live with the Vietnamese. In the future, if I die, (my son who lives in Fresno and I) will not see each other." |
| 6) 59-year old Hmong Thai refugee camp resident | 1. "I don't decide where to go. Maybe I stay here. . . . I'm a really old man." |
| 7) Son of 67-year-old Hmong Thai refugee camp resident (above) | 1. "It's very complicated here (in Fresno). You start life like a baby again. When you look for a job, they say, 'Can you speak English?' They say, 'Get out of here. We don't want people like you here.'" |
| 8) 22-year-old Hmong, resident of Thai refugee camp for 12 years | 1. "The young people, they don't think the camp is very good."
2. "When people are sick, they sometimes won't go to the hospital. They only go when the shaman is busy." |
| 9) Thai refugee camp Hmong resistance chief, formerly a major in Laos' Royal Army | 1. (The stragglers) "cannot do anything" (for themselves).
2. "At the camp, there were many other officers, but they all left for a third country. My goal is to stay here and help all the refugees get out of the camp."
3. "We're using American ammunition and now everything's breaking down." |
| 10) Executive Director, Lao Family Community Inc., Fresno | 1. "They see the families split-brother here, father there-that causes more mental problems. So the family decides not to do anything. I tell them to make a choice. For your children's sake, for their education, you should go (to the United States). But for you . . . it will be very different. You will face a lot of culture shock." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #4 - Continued

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|---|--|
| 11) Brother of Executive Director, Lao Family Community Inc., and resident of Thai refugee camp | 1. (He kept hoping) "some country will rescue me. We've been waiting a long time." |
| 12) Doctor, Thai refugee camp | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "These are diseases from 100 years ago . . . and then only in the poor areas."2. "We can make a beautiful hospital in this camp and we will save some TB cases. But the real problem is the education and the public health, the ditches of stagnant water."3. "This year is not going so good, is it?"4. "I think you can see an attitude transfer directly from Ban Vinai (the Thai refugee camp) to America. How do you make people who were 12 years holding out their hands independent?" |
| 13) Hmong midwife at Thai refugee camp | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "I would rather have waited (to quit my job). I am tired a lot. I like my job. But it was impossible." |
| 14) American cousin of Hmong leader in Thailand who assists Hmong in escaping from Laos | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "Even if you stay with them (Lao communist rulers) 20, 30 years, they'll still not trust you (if you are Hmong)." |
| 15) Head, Refugee Division, Thai National Security Council | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "We cannot say it's going to close right now. That still stays as a rumor right now. We know the local area wants to close the camp, but it's a (national) government decision, not a local decision."2. "If we open that door, who will help Thailand support those people?" |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #4 - Continued

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|--|---|
| 16) Refugee Affairs
Counselor, U.S.
Embassy in Bangkok | 1. "It's certainly possible that the Thai are thinking about that-they are groping around for a way to end this."
2. "Some individuals might be able to go back, but they fear given the group they are associated with they could face problems. It presents a big dilemma."
3. (No money goes to the Lao resistance.) "That is not at all our policy. I really want to emphasize that because some people think it is." |
| 17) Half-brother of 22-year-old quoted above, Thai refugee camp resident | 1. "It's the Thai government's idea to get rid of the refugees. They don't want us here. They say if we are comfortable, we stay."
2. "Most who left (the refugee camp) had to leave. They were very poor or they smoked opium. They have troubles here. When back in Laos, the government put them on the radio. They said it was very good. . . . I don't think so." |
| 18) Thai refugee camp resident | 1. "They (the Thai) should let them (the Hmong) stay and spread out" |
| 19) Thai military commander | 1. "I think you have enough pictures." |
| 20) Bangkok jewelry salesman | 1. (The refugees are) "a big burden." |
| 21) Taxi driver near Udon in the north | 2. "So many refugees-too many refugees." |

ARTICLE #5

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Medical
epidemiologist, U.S.
Centers for Disease
Control, Atlanta, GA | 1. "In the San Joaquin, Merced and Fresno area, we've had more recent cases (of 'sudden unexpected death syndrome')."
2. "It's very fortunate that the number has declined dramatically. It remains a mystery to us, however, as to exactly why that has occurred." |
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SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #5 - Continued

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| 2) Postdoctoral fellow,
School of Public Health,
University of Minnesota | 1. "There's nothing wrong with white rice if one has a balanced diet, and I am in no way saying the refugees here in the U.S. should change their diet. But when a large amount of the calories come from white rice, and there are few other sources of calories, that's a problem."
2. "The intake of thiamine (at the Ban Vinai refugee camp) is about half the World Health Organization's standard."
3. "The picture that emerges from this is that the refugees are suffering from this much more in Thailand, and that they most likely bring with them a susceptibility when they come to the U.S. That's consistent with the idea that there's some susceptibility that acquired in those camps, but then goes away as people's environment improves."
4. "These are preliminary findings, but I think that they point the way to a hypothesis that should be further explored." |
| 3) Resettlement director,
Lao Family Community
of Fresno Inc. | 1. "I'm not a doctor or a researcher, but if you go way back in generations, all of the Hmong have been eating white rice."
2. "People who have lots of worries may have this problem." |
| 4) Manager, University of
California Cooperative
Extension's expanded
food nutrition education
program for refugees | 1. "When you rinse (white rice), the little white water that comes out is part of the enrichment" |

ARTICLE #6

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Hmong translator at
Valley Medical Center | 1. "Kuv Yog Txais Lus. Kuv pab kojpuastaus? I am the interpreter. May I help you? Kojmob qhovtwg? Where is the pain?"
2. "I came as a refugee. I learned English here. It's not difficult to translate-normally, it's easy-but there are some words about the human body that I don't know so I just find a word to compare."
3. "I introduce myself and tell them this is the doctor. I tell them, this is the hospital and don't get nervous, and I say you must answer the questions, tell me what you need~if pain, tell me exactly so I can tell doctor and he help."
4. (Older women are) "very shy"
5. "I tell her hospital good, doctor won't hurt you; doctor won't do anything to you except help, so don't be shy. I say things different in different cultures and this is American culture, so don't be shy." |
|---|--|

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #6 - Continued

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|---|--|
| 2) Associate Chief of
Emergency Medicine,
Valley Medical Center | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "The basis of a correct diagnosis will come from taking a good medical history. We have to ask the right questions and get the right answers to make the right diagnosis. If the patient doesn't speak English and if you don't speak the patient's language, you need a good interpreter."2. "The interpreter who starts filling in the patient's medical history, adding things, synthesizing, or summarizing without knowing the medical points the doctor is looking for can drastically alter the meaning of the patient's words-and sometimes the doctor's conclusion."3. "You convey confidence in your manner and you make lots of eye contact and give pats on the hand-things like that. In a life-threatening situation where strange people are doing sometimes painful procedures, one can easily imagine what the patient might think. Reassuring nods, or simply holding the patient's hand, can calm the patient. In a situation like that, we always scramble to get an interpreter as quickly as possible." |
| 3) Coordinator, Emergency
Department, Valley
Medical Center | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. (Staff members can make themselves understood in Spanish), "but you can't fake Hmong, Cambodian or Vietnamese."2. "For planned visits, many refugees will come to the hospital with a family member or someone who speaks English. But what's frustrating-and nerve-wracking~are the emergency situations such as a motor vehicle accident" |
| 4) Spanish interpreter at
Valley Medical Center | <p>"When I walk into a room with a doctor, I introduce myself and the doctor. Some of them are very nervous, so I usually try to put them at ease. I tell the patient that we do this every day and we're here to help. That seems to put them at ease a little bit."</p> <p>"They get upset if they are not treated the way they feel they should be treated. And sometimes it's frustrating when people have been waiting a long time-especially when they have young children. We relay this to the staff."</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">3. "Sometimes we don't get a clear history and that makes it difficult for us to translate for the doctor." |
| 5) Fourth-year medical
student University of
California at San
Francisco | <p>"We're told that we should think of the interpreter as a representative of the patient's culture as well as language. It's very important for the doctor to be respectful toward the interpreter because the patients often look at our interaction with the interpreter closely, and if we're rude or inconsiderate then patients may construe that as our attitude toward them."</p> <p>"Whenever possible it's better to work through an interpreter who is not related to the patient. There are certain issues that a family member would not be comfortable asking and I think an unrelated person can communicate those private issues more easily."</p> |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #6 - Continued

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|---|--|
| 6) Physician's assistant who speaks fluent Spanish | "When speaking with a Hispanic patient, you deal not only with them, but with their significant others. They are part of the family and are included in the treatment. For the Anglo patient it's usually based more one-on-one. When dealing with a Hispanic female, you have to show extreme respect-they are very conservative and traditional especially if they are coming directly from Mexico."
"With some patients, you just have to dig more to get a good medical history. You have to be more like a private eye-just keeping asking questions and re-asking them, if necessary. Sometimes they will say 'no' to a question the first time it's asked, but will be able to respond at the end of the interview." |
| 7) Registered nurse | 1. "Our interpreters are experienced enough that we're able to talk to the patients and get the information we need. When they are not translating, they help us with a lot of other things." |
| 8) Unit director, St. Agnes Hospital Emergency Department | 1. "That seldom happens (that the hospital will call in an outside translator); I could almost say rarely." |
| 9) Doctor of pharmacology | 1. "We are very happy with the (Regional Poison Center Emergency Translation) service. We get about 10 calls a month and the service has been excellent" |

ARTICLE *n*

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| 1) — | 1. No quotations. Whole article is first person account of author's living in another country and of feeling like a refugee upon return to the United States. |
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ARTICLE #8

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|----------------------------|---|
| 1) Former Laotian official | 1. "I lay him down and chop him in pieces. There are good parts and there are bad." |
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SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #8 - Continued

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|--|---|
| 2) Book about Southeast Asia during Vietnam War era | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "The CIS wanted a real slugger who would take casualties, and in a young Meo officer named Vang Pao they found him." (Meo is the Chinese word for Hmong.)2. "To build up his army, Vang Pao's officers and the CIA operatives . . . flew to scattered Meo villages in helicopters . . . offering guns, rice and money in exchange for recruits, they leapfrogged from village to village."3. "After three years of nearly constant retreat, Vang Pao's Meo followers were at the end of the line. . . Most of the Meo men have no desire to continue fighting for Gen. Vang Pao. They bitterly resent his most flamboyant excesses." |
| 3) Book about Southeast Asia during World War II era | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "Vang Pao nodded to an aide, who immediately had the men taken outside and shot. The CIA man took the point (and said), 'What I meant to say, general, is that I would appreciate it if you allow us to interrogate the prisoners, please.'"2. "Personal gain was not a priority for Vang Pao, who put what he perceived to be the best interests of his people first. Besides, his ability to enrich himself was admired by his followers, and the exterior signs of his advancement merely proved to the Meo the high regard in which he was held by the Laotian leadership and the United States." |

ARTICLE #9

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|--|---|
| 1) One of the highest ranking Neo Horn (resistance) officials | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. (Referring to money collected for the resistance.) "I cannot say if it is half or more than half (that makes it)." "There is corruption everywhere, but that cannot stop what is right."2. "People are killed for different reasons."3. "For the people born in this country, probably they don't want to go back to Laos. But for the old people, it's hard for them to assimilate to this culture, so if there is even a slight chance, they want to go back." |
| 2) A California man who maintains close contact with other former Vang Pao loyalists in Southeast Asia | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "The resistance is nothing. The people report from Laos: no money, no food, no shoes, no resistance." |
| 3) Fresno County Welfare Director | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "They have this tremendous feeling that their country's there and they will go back. At least, they're being told by their leader that they will go back." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #9 - Continued

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|---|---|
| 4) Letter to Hmong leaders in the United States from Vang Pao | 1. "If it's delayed or not coming at all, the resistance will die." |
| 5) An American who has spent considerable time in the Ban Vinai refugee camp | 1. "There is a joke. Out of one dollar, we only receive a cent" |
| 6) Letter circulated in Hmong communities (written in Lao) | 1. "This letter would like to warn you to be aware and be prepared at all times. Otherwise, you will be killed by Gen. Vang Pao's men. The news from this letter is real, reasonable and there is a plan." |
| 7) Hmong family with a relative they believe was murdered by Vang Pao loyalists | 1. "We have cousins in Thailand who were Neo Horn guerrillas who say they didn't receive anything. The people that collected money bought new cars and new houses. They got richer. They realized the money wasn't used for what they said. They told us the money we are donating to them was being used to buy supplies for the Neo Horn in Thailand. But that was a lie. They just lie to us." |
| 8) St. Paul, Minnesota, Hmong leader and Neo Horn activist | 1. "We wanted to kill her" (referring to a female writer in Minneapolis).
2. "The government let us down from the promise made to us in the 1960s. We were promised that we'd be taken care of. Now, we still believe it's a good cause to fight for freedom and democracy in Laos. The idea of returning is not a fantasy." |
| 9) One of Vang Pao's sons | 1. "Basically, he's dedicated his life to the Hmong people."
2. "My father is not rich. I don't see anybody rich right now. What I see as rich is people driving around in fancy cars I don't see that here." |
| 10) Head of social service agency in Fresno founded by Vang Pao | 1. "When any Americans see how Vang Pao sleeps, how Vang Pao eats, they would feel sorry for him. He's a good person. He feels sorry for the poor. His purpose is basically to have Laos become free for itself~for the people. That's all he wants." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #9 - Continued

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|---|---|
| 11) A former key figure in Vang Pao's resistance | 1. "It was probably his life savings" (referring to an old refugee who gave \$600 in small bills wrapped in a red handkerchief to Vang Pao). "What he did not know is that the money was used for luxury hotel rooms for the visitors." |
| 12) Director, Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement | 1. (Hmong refugees had told his agency) "that Lao Family encouraged people to stay on welfare because it maximized the support for the resistance."
2. "I turned it over to the U.S. attorney in Los Angeles. I wrote letters to them explaining how I came by the information. I never heard anything back." |
| 13) Retired Army colonel who worked with the CIA in Southeast Asia | 1. "The agency still wants him in their back pocket just in case things collapse (in Laos) and they need instant stability with the Hmong. So, there probably are still some little retainers and still some promises. If they are not paying him, they will want to remain on good terms and one way is to allow his scams to remain uninterrupted." |
| 14) Head of the Fresno FBI office | 1. "We hear things but you can't prosecute without someone willing to come forward as a victim." |
| 15) Director, Kansas agency that distributed funds for refugee programs | 1. "It got real rough out here" (referring to bomb threats and allegations of brake lines being cut). |
| 16) FBI spokesman in Kansas City | 1. (Vang Pao told Hmong leaders money was being used) "for the eventual overthrow of the communist government controlling Laos." |
| 17) Spokesman for democratic senator | 1. "We don't have any ability to get the Justice Department or anyone else to investigate anything. If we think there is a violation of the law, we would report it just like anyone else would." |
| 18) Republican congressman | 1. (He had never received any calls or letters about Vang Pao or the resistance, so he was) "a little reluctant to go looking for trouble." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #9 - Continued

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|--|---|
| 19) A Hmong leader whose name is on the hit lists | 1. "It looks like he's got more power than an American. One person can make a lot of trouble for the whole community. I don't know why the State Department or anyone else doesn't protect our people. We have suffered enough." |
| 20) Leader of legitimate resistance force on border of Cambodia and Laos | 1. "Vang Pao was an important man in Southeast Asia until 1975 but since then, he's no big deal. The Vang Pao group is not important." |
| 21) Head of the World Anti-Communist League | 1. "Unfortunately, Vang Pao has used his former position and the respect he had from foreign countries to run a great big scam." |
| 22) A State Department spokesman on Southeast Asian affairs | 1. "The U.S. government does not support or condone the so-called resistance and, in fact, is against it. We recognize the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic."
2. (The so-called resistance) "is holding on to the illusion of the past. As far as individuals making money for this, that is morally wrong. The war is over. The people who won the war are running the country now." |
| 23) Most important Hmong leader before U.S. involvement in Laos | 1. "He (Vang Pao) is a pure military officer who doesn't understand that after the war there is a peace." |

ARTICLE #10

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|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1) A Hmong community leader in Fresno | 1. "It's easy to make a living (in Laos)... Here, you know nothing about the American culture. Nothing about the American skill. How can you make a living? That's the trouble."
2. "If we put too much pressure on them they say: 'Now we have no land. Now we have no home. We are better off dead.'" |
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SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #10 - Continued

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|---|--|
| 2) A University of Minnesota professor who is considered an intellectual leader of the Hmong worldwide | 1. "The Hmong in Fresno live as a very big concentration, and when a group lives like this they have very little opportunity to learn from the existing local population. They are too isolated." |
| 3) Hmong man (67 years old) had been a farmer before 1947 ... for the next 28 years war was the only life he knew; was a captain when his country, Laos, fell to the communists in 1975 | 1. "I was sad to leave Laos. I wasn't ready to move. But we lost the war, so we had to leave." |
| 4) The Hmong specialist for the Office of Refugee Resettlement | 1. (With reference to the Hmong in Wisconsin who were once welfare-dependent are now becoming self-sufficient.) "If you compare how they are doing now to how they were doing in 1983, I think there has been progress."
2. (With reference to communities without jobs.) "If the job market is limited in those communities, how are people ultimately going to get off welfare even with the best of training?" |
| 5) Director, Fresno County Department of Social Services | 1. "Refugees don't want to be on aid. You talk to them, and they really don't want to. I think their leaders are seeing the evils of welfare dependency." |
| 6) 45-year-old male Hmong, unemployed head of family of 11 | 1. "We don't want to stay home and support the family (with welfare). But we have big family and can't support them. We are very ashamed of that" |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #10 - Continued

- 7) Hmong female who came to the United States and took five years to become fluent enough in English to carry on a conversation with people

1. "I heard the 'tinging' (to stop the bus), but I couldn't see how it was made. I couldn't speak English, so I couldn't ask anyone."

ARTICLE #11

- 1) Former (non-Hmong) government information officer, Laos. Current Director of Bilingual Programs, Santa Ana Unified School District, Orange County

1. "That's the only part of the plan (gathering money from Hmong families) that Vang Pao ever used."
2. "You have to keep paying even if you doubt him. If you stop paying you lose it (the government job). It's sort of like annual membership dues."
3. "We had a lot of dreams. We were going to fight to go back."
4. "If the clan leader says pay, you pay."

- 2) California man who refused to pay

1. "Myself, they came to my house and said you must pay \$100 or when we get the country back you cannot go. I said, 'Why you talk like that? Laos is my country. I will not pay to go back to my country. When you go back, I go back.'"
2. "The people are nervous, afraid they (the certificates) will get taken away."

- 3) Hmong neighbor of a contributor to resistance

1. "I wish I had the power to snap my fingers and make Vang Pao go away. He has stolen so much money from poor ignorant people. I hate him."

- 4) Leader of the Hmong community in Fresno

1. "The records are in the trash."

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #11 - Continued

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|--|--|
| 5) Former Lao Family employee | 1. "In a meeting with us he said everything would be under the table and only he would decide how the money would be spent." |
| 6) Orange County man (Hmong) who oversees collections for the resistance | 1. "Sometimes I follow the money to Thailand."
2. "Tell me who says I collect for Vang Pao. Tell me who say I keep the money. Bring me names."
3. "See, no proof." |
| 7) Neo Horn (resistance) official of Santa Ana | 1. "I cannot say if it is half or more than half (of the money that makes it). There is corruption everywhere, but that cannot stop what is right. Vang Fong is Vang Fong. He care about money. I do not."
2. "Neo Horn will live or die depending on the will of the people. A lot of people in this country have a lot of people fighting for them inside Laos. If the people here give up the donations, the people there will give up the fighting."
3. "You will have to ask him (Vang Pao) yourself (if he cares more about money or the resistance)." |
| 8) Neo Horn videotape | 1. "Please bring this picture to the Laotian and Hmong people in the United States, France, Australia and Thailand and also to the world community, especially to the U.S. government. Ask them to go to the United Nations and condemn the Vietnamese." |
| 9) Santa Ana businessman | 1. (My investment was) "gone, gone, gone..."
2. "Vang Pao could not look me in the eye after that"
3. "It was all a cheat." |
| 10) Lao Family Community employee in Riverside | 1. "We cannot ask anything like that of the boss. He's the big guy. He is General Vang Pao." |
| 11) A Fresno man with many relatives in Thailand | 1. "The leaders over there don't want those people to come to this country. If they come here, they don't have any people left to fight." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #12

- 1) Academic counselor for Southeast Asian students at the University of Minnesota
1. "These parents need to be clever."
2. "Their teen-agers are able to deceive them because they don't understand how it is in America. Parents don't know enough about the school system to expect report cards or to realize when money is needed, like for gym clothes."
3. "Parents should learn as much as they can. They must put more effort into learning the American system of education. They should attend parent-teacher conferences and workshops. Then they would be able to guide and advise and give some orientation to their children in this country."
4. "When parents can't speak English, they must ask their children to interpret for them. The children then feel they have a more important role in the family. If the parents are illiterate, children lose respect for them."
5. "I have visited Asian families in Fresno and parents are very worried about their children. After school is over, the children have nothing to do except watch television all the time. Parents have no idea either and can't advise them to go outside and play or study. They watch television and see robberies and try the same thing. Theft was not a problem in Laos. A father would go to rice fields to work and he never locked the door. In America, when teen-agers have time on their hands, they get into trouble. That's when they get involved with gangs and steal radios, steal cars and run away. That never happened in Laos."
6. "Parents used to beat their children. They can't do that in the United States, but they don't know alternative methods of discipline. Parents also must learn to inform or warn their children about social changes first and not just blame them when they make a mistake. Too often, parents blame the children for making mistakes they didn't know anything about"
7. "Parents once guided their children through life and prepared them for social changes. In America, they feel they have no role in their children's lives."
8. "Parents should meet together and share experiences about the education of their children. They should share ideas about how to support their children with more efficiency."
9. "Southeast Asian teen-agers want to be Americanized. They want to look like the other teen-agers. It helps them feel comfortable at school."

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #12 - Continued

2) Director of multilingual
and multicultural
education for Fresno
Unified School District

1. "If the youngster see the parent and teacher working hand-in-hand, he sees them working as a team. Then he can't play one against the other."
2. "The children become Americanized much more rapidly than their parents. This creates a generational gap and put children in a leadership position in the home. Parents must learn to speak English."
3. "Television influences a great many children, but the Southeast Asian refugees see it and they are vulnerable. They are gullible. I believe they are patterning attitudes and practices after what they see on TV. As an example, a young teen-age girl saw a shampoo commercial showing a girl using the shampoo and then having curly hair with more body. The Southeast Asian girl didn't understand that her hair was different and wouldn't look like that if she used that shampoo."
4. "In their home country, schooling is left to the teachers and administrators. Parents aren't supposed to be involved at all; it's left to the experts. But here, it's really the opposite. We encourage the parents to be involved and do all we can to get them in to parent-teacher conferences. We'll get interpreters for the conferences, if needed."
5. "It would be wonderful if they could focus on fine American qualities, but they want to be like their American peers and get into their styles, hairdos, makeup, dating practices. Clothing especially helps the student feel part of his peer group."

3) A Fresno City Police
Detective

1. "Crime involving Southeast Asian teen-agers has drastically increased in the last year. It started with theft, then vehicle theft, and increased to residential robberies and extortion."
2. "Now they are getting involved in rock cocaine, so they have to steal to support their habit. Gangs have increased significantly in the last year, but it's a slower process in identifying them because they are so close-mouthed in their culture."
3. "A lot of this stems from the breakdown in the family unit. Those parents don't have control any more. The roles have been reversed. The parents can't function without the kids to interpret for them."

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #12 - Continued

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| 4) Coordinator of Southeast Asian students at Fresno State University | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "Parents aren't equipped to handle rebellion. When the teen-agers challenge the parents' authority, the parents don't know what to do. They say, 'This is not my boy. This is not my girl.' And they blame America for changing their children."2. "Parents feel frustrated with what's happening to their kids. They don't have enough information about the American system. This culture has a system of peer pressure that is in a completely different dimension than their own culture. In fact, the (family) values conflict."3. "These kids have a real identity crisis. There's a lot of cultural pressure at home and yet they are trying to fit into the American way of living. Their own psychological progress is very chaotic and they don't have enough skill to cope with this." |
| 5) Associate Dean of Students at Fresno City College, who counsels Southeast Asian students | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "When we have to get information home, we mail it directly to the parents in their language. Being in college is seen as very honorable. The students here now are serving as role models for the younger students." |

ARTICLE #13

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|---|---|
| 1) Buyer at a Fresno produce shipping company | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "Farming's too expensive. It costs \$200 for the (land) lease, I have to buy chemicals. It's too hard, too expensive. If I grow sugar peas, I get \$1 or \$2 an hour. (Elsewhere) I make \$4 an hour." |
| 2) 35-year-old Hmong | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "Take the crate home and repack it, or leave it here and we'll see what we can get for it." |
| 3) Director of Fresno's Lao Family Community | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "Back in Laos, we didn't have pesticides. We grew things naturally." |
| 4) 30-year-old Hmong who used to farm in Clovis | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "I didn't like to spray chemicals, and I didn't make much money."2. "I spent \$5,000 on cherry tomatoes (one year) and only got \$5,000 back. I broke even." |
| 5) 45-year-old Hmong farmer | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "No Saturday, no Sunday, no holy day."2. "I know a little about chemicals, pesticides. . . . I know a little about microbiology." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #13 - Continued

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|--|---|
| 6) Farm adviser #1 | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "They work together socially and politically, but when it comes to economic cooperation, I can't get to first base with them."2. "You see the husband holding the spray hose in one hand, applying Lannate, with his wife carrying the hose along behind him." |
| 7) President, Laotian Chamber of Commerce | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "They want to process the whole thing as one person. But it won't work. They know they can't do it (marketing) alone any longer."2. "People don't understand the idea of co-op. They don't feel comfortable with it. It's been talked about for a long time, but not a success yet" |
| 8) General manager, Cherta Farms | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "Farmers ask about how to plan-what kind of produce people (will) buy."2. "We felt like we needed to have our own shipping and farm. When we shipped through other places we sometimes ended up paying for the boxes and ended up losing 50 cents a pound."3. "But if we pack, we can control the price better. We're trying to control the quality and freshness of the product. That's the key we're maintaining. Some of our customers praise that."4. "Sometimes we tell them the quality's not good enough. We throw out the bad quality."5. "The teen-agers don't want to farm. The parents had no choice. They had no education so they had to farm." |
| 9) Owner, Cherta Farms | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "But we told them we'd take the least commission, and try to be faithful to them, build trust. And now, some growers don't even want to take the money, wanting us to survive." |
| 10) Deputy Agricultural Commissioner Standards Specialist, Fresno County | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. in some cases we chose to educate rather than write a violation." |
| 11) County agricultural investigator | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. (It was a) "nightmare. They'd shake their heads yes, but they didn't understand."2. "Things are looking brighter. I don't hear that much about (pesticide misuse) cases anymore." |
| 12) Farm adviser #2 | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "They make appointments, and then they don't show up." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #13 - Continued

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|---|--|
| 13) Field representative,
Selma-based packing
company | 1. "People have the wrong impression that they're (the farmers) doing everything wrong. But they aren't."
2. "You really should plow that land to bring the fertilizer to the top." "We can't afford that" (said one of the men).
3. "These things are drenched in water. We tell them to just irrigate every other day. The people making money here are the seed companies." |
| 14) A Laotian who farms
west of Highway 99 | 4. "We're trying to get them to plant in stages so they can keep up (with the picking)."
1. "Family and friends help." |
| 15) A non-Hmong farmer in
Clovis | 1. "Prior to the Southeast Asians getting into the market, one out of three or four years would be quite good market-wise." |
| 16) A non-Hmong farmer in
Fresno | 1. "A lot are still farming slash and burn style (that they used in their homelands). They leave trash, garbage and vines around. A lot are not very neat." |
| 17) A Del Rey farmer | 1. "They can raise things cheaper and get by."
2. "I can't see how (those other farmers) can't see themselves mirrored in the refugees. There is a type of resentment, but aren't they just doing it the American way?" |
| 18) County Social Services
Director | 1. "We pursued it and found that quite a few were on public assistance and a few weren't reporting income. It's hard for us to keep track of who's working and who's not. Our perception is they drop off aid." |
| 19) IRS Officer based in
Fresno | 1. (IRS efforts now are) "just to get them (southeast Asian refugees) to understand we have a tax system."
2. (This ^ear> the IRS is holding fashion shows) "just to get people in."
3. "It will take years to bring everyone into the tax system. If someone contacts IRS and says there's a person making a lot of money without reporting, we can send someone out to contact him. It doesn't happen a lot" |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #14

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|---|--|
| 1) A Hmong physician in his first year of residency in Providence, R.I. | 1. "I've been to the shaman many, many, many times, with headaches, stomachaches, vomiting . . . with my soul lost and my father calling. He still calls my soul, even after my long internship."
2. "A placebo only works if you believe in it"
3. "That's only a dream. It will never come true, because . . . who cares?" |
| 2) Hmong shaman (male) in Fresno | 1. "We can't learn it (shamanism) like we learn English. This is something that is a gift from God. If the spirit gets in you it just uses your body and your mouth." |
| 3) Female shaman, wife of male shaman above | 1. "If a person has cancer or some other diseases we can't help them." |
| 4) A Hmong resident physician in Merced | 1. "A lot of (Hmong patients) have diseases that are not serious and will go away whether you treat them or not. Sometimes they ask me to do cupping or coining, and I tell them I don't do that, but I refer them out." |
| 5) Hmong on-staff interpreter for Valley Children's hospital | 1. "If you go fast, try to force them to do things, they will take the child away." |
| 6) A non-Hmong Fresno pediatrician | 1. "If it takes very long to cure someone, your medicine is not very powerful." |
| 7) Public health nurse | 1. "I think it's really pitiful that (Southeast Asians) are not better represented in our hospitals." |
| 8) Father of young son who has a problem with his skull | 1. "I'd rather die than let them operate on my son." |

SOURCES

SELECTION OF QUOTES

ARTICLE #15

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|--|---|
| 1) 17-year-old employed son of unemployed father | 1. "They're used to being the leader. But here they can't find a job, and so it's hard for them." |
| 2) Head of Lao Community Development Association | 1. "A lot of people are interested why the government does this only for Hmong. Because Lao have the same problems as Hmong." |

ARTICLE #16

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|---|---|
| 1) Manager, apartment building | 1. "He (the owner) knows that they (the Hmong) don't complain or take him to the Health Department or call lawyers." |
| 2) Court deposition | 1. "We cater to them (Southeast Asians). We have thousands of them as tenants."
2. "Without exception, no one spends John or David Hovannisian's money except John and David Hovannisian." |
| 3) Chief, Housing Standards, City of Fresno | 1. "I will tell you that (David) Hovannisian takes care of his business when we have a complaint" |

APPENDIX G

NEWSPAPER TEXT: EXAMPLES OF QUOTATIONS

SUPPORTING DOMINANT FRAMES

DOMINANT FRAMES ESTABLISHED IN OTHER MECHANISMS	NEWSPAPER ARTICLE	SOURCE	QUOTATION
1. Hmong came to America from underprivileged, third-world conditions	#4	12. Doctor, Thai refugee camp	1. "These are diseases from 100 years ago . . . and then only in the poor areas." 2. "We can make a beautiful hospital in this camp and we will save some TB cases. But the real problem is the education and the public health, the ditches of stagnant water."
2. Victimization by American government	#4 #9	3. Hmong janitor, Fresno schools 8. St. Paul, Minnesota, Hmong leader and Neo Hom activist	1. "I worked as a radio operator for the CIA. A colonel said, 'If you can help us, you can save your country and stay here. If we lose the war, we can help you and get your people out of the country.' He told me, 'Don't worry about that,'" 2. "The government let us down from the promise made to us in the 1960s. We were promised that we'd be taken care of. . . ."
3. Difficulty of Hmong acculturation in America	#4 #9 #12	7. Son of 67-year-old Hmong Thai refugee camp resident (above) 1. One of the highest ranking Neo Hom (resistance) officials 4. Coordinator of Southeast Asian Students at Fresno State University	1. "It's very complicated here (in Fresno). You start life like a baby again. When you look for a job, they say, 'Can you speak English?' They say, 'Get out of here. We don't want people like you here.'" 3. "For the people born in this country, probably they don't want to go back to Laos. But for the old people, it's hard for them to assimilate to this culture, so if there is even a slight chance, they want to go back." 3. "These kids have a real identity crisis. There's a lot of cultural pressure at home and yet they are trying to fit into the American way of living. Their own psychological progress is very chaotic and they don't have enough skill to cope with this."
4. Hmong drive to return home	#9 #9	3. Fresno County Welfare Director 8. St. Paul, Minnesota, Hmong leader and Neo Hom activist	1. "They have this tremendous feeling that their country's there and they will go back. At least, they're being told by their leader that they will go back." 2. ". . . Now, we still believe it's a good cause to fight for freedom and democracy in Laos. The idea of returning is not a fantasy."

DOMINANT FRAMES ESTABLISHED IN OTHER MECHANISMS	NEWSPAPER ARTICLE	SOURCE	QUOTATION
5. Hmong victimization by Hmong leaders	#9	6. Letter circulated in Hmong communities (written in Lao)	1. "This letter would like to warn you to be aware and be prepared at all times. Otherwise, you will be killed by Gen. Vang Pao's men. The news from this letter is real, reasonable and there is a plan."
	#9	11. A former key figure in Vang Pao's resistance	1. "It was probably his life savings" (referring to an old refugee who gave \$600 in small bills wrapped in a red handkerchief to Vang Pao.) "What he did not know is that the money was used for luxury hotel rooms for the visitors."
6. Hmong drain on public resources	#4	12. Doctor, Thai refugee camp	4. "I think you can see an attitude transfer directly from Ban Vinai (the Thai refugee camp) to America. How do you make people who were 12 years holding out their hands independent?"
	#9	12. Director, Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement	1. (Hmong refugees had told his agency) "that Lao Family encouraged people to stay on welfare because it maximized the support for the resistance."
7. Shamanistic religious/medical practices	#4	8. 22-year-old Hmong, resident of Thai refugee camp for 12 years	2. "When people are sick, they sometimes won't go to the hospital. They only go when the shaman is busy."
	#14	2. Hmong shaman (male) in Fresno	1. "We can't learn it (shamanism) like we learn English. This is something that is a gift from God. If the spirit gets in you it just uses your body and your mouth."
	#14	8. Father of young son who has a problem with his skull	1. "I'd rather die than let them operate on my son."
8. Intergroup conflict with other SE Asians	#15	2. Head of Lao Community Development Association	1. "A lot of people are interested why the government does this only for Hmong. Because Lao have the same problems as Hmong."

APPENDIX H

NEWSPAPER TEXT: EXAMPLES OF PERSONALIZATION OF
THE INSTITUTIONAL VOICE THROUGH QUOTATIONS

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE	SOURCE	QUOTATION
#2	2. Executive Director, Lao Family Community Inc.	2. "Very soon you're going to see the Asian children . . . pregnant at 12 or 14. Asian parents aren't getting the right information about year-round schools. Overcrowding does not just concern the (white) parents. It concerns the refugee parents as well."
#2	3. Consultant, Bilingual Program, St. Paul, Minnesota	1. "Our kindergartens are about 20 percent Asian. We can see the handwriting on the wall. This will be our district in 20 years."
#2	4. Superintendent, Fresno Unified School District	1. "We have an asinine law. The law doesn't recognize the problem we face."
#3	7. Deputy County Counsel, Fresno County	1. "Absent some kind of proof, I don't want people coming in and calling each other names. When I didn't have anything to go on, what was I suppose to do?" 2. "We agreed to contract with the four groups and the four groups agreed to provide the services. Any one group can't pull out, at least as far as we're concerned."
#3	8. Fresno City Manager	1. "I would like to straighten out the problems. I'm not going to recommend any more money if we can't sort things out—if people can't get along."
#9	14. Head of the Fresno FBI office	1. "We hear things but you can't prosecute without someone willing to come forward as a victim."
#9	21. Head of the World Anti-Communist League	1. "Unfortunately, Vang Pao has used his former position and the respect he had from foreign countries to run a great big scam."
#13	10. Deputy Agricultural Commissioner Standards Specialist, Fresno County	1. "... in some cases we chose to educate rather than write a violation."
#13	11. County Agricultural Investigator	1. (It was a) "nightmare. They'd shake their heads yes, but they didn't understand."
#13	19. IRS Officer based in Fresno	1. (IRS efforts now are) "just to get them (southeast Asian refugees) to understand we have a tax system." 2. (This year, the IRS is holding fashion shows) "just to get people in."

APPENDIX I

NEWSPAPER TEXT: EXAMPLES OF REVELATION OF PERSONAL
PERCEPTIONS OF NEWS SOURCES THROUGH QUOTATIONS

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE	SOURCE	QUOTATION
#2	2. Executive Director, Lao Family Community Inc.	2. "Very soon you're going to see the Asian children . . . pregnant at 12 or 14. . . ."
#2	3. Consultant, Bilingual Program, St. Paul, Minnesota	1. "Our kindergartens are about 20 percent Asian. We can see the handwriting on the wall. This will be our district in 20 years."
#3	1. President, Vietnamese Association	1. "They just do whatever they want to do—it's a dirty game. I won't go back (to the meetings) unless I see something more fair." 2. "He needed a translator. He doesn't even speak English. Now what does that tell you?"
#3	3. Chairwoman, translation and advocacy program steering committee	2. "Lao Family has taken a more active leadership role in the project than the other (refugee groups), mainly because of their capability. Being fiscal agent gave them more responsibility and they are the only ones who have the staff to get materials out, type things up and so on."
#3	4. Associate Director, Lao Family Community, Inc.	1. (The President of the Vietnamese Association) "had a problem with majority rule. I think Chinh has a personal problem with the fact that there are so many Hmong, and Lao Family carries a lot of weight" 2. "It was real frustrating. Everyone was under a time crunch—the county wanted this project going." 3. "Let's just say it takes a lot to get me angry. There are two sides to the story. . . . When someone makes accusations, you have to look at the source."
#9	10. Head of social service agency in Fresno founded by Vang Pao	1. "When any Americans see how Vang Pao sleeps, how Vang Pao eats, they would feel sorry for him. He's a good person. He feels sorry for the poor. His purpose is basically to have Laos become free for itself—for the people. That's all he wants."
#10	1. A Hmong community leader in Fresno	1. "It's easy to make a living (in Laos). . . . Here, you know nothing about the American culture. Nothing about the American skill. How can you make a living? That's the trouble." 2. "If we put too much pressure on them they say: 'Now we have no land. Now we have no home. We are better off dead.'"
#10	3. Hmong man (67 years old) had been a farmer before 1947 . . . for the next 28 years war was the only life he knew; was a captain when his country, Laos, fell to the communists in 1975	1. "I was sad to leave Laos. I wasn't ready to move. But we lost the war, so we had to leave."

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE	SOURCE	QUOTATION
#10	7. Hmong female who came to the United States and took five years to become fluent enough in English to carry on a conversation with people	1. "I heard the tinging (to stop the bus), but I couldn't see how it was made. I couldn't speak English, so I couldn't ask anyone."
#11	3. Hmong neighbor of a contributor to resistance	1. "I wish I had the power to snap my fingers and make Vang Pao go away. He has stolen so much money from poor ignorant people. I hate him."
#12	1. Academic counselor for Southeast Asian students at the University of Minnesota	<p>5. "I have visited Asian families in Fresno and parents are very worried about their children. After school is over, the children have nothing to do except watch television all the time. Parents have no idea either and can't advise them to go outside and play or study. They watch television and see robberies and try the same thing. Theft was not a problem in Laos. A father would go to rice fields to work and he never locked the door. In America, when teenagers have time on their hands, they get into trouble. That's when they get involved with gangs and steal radios, steal cars and run away. That never happened in Laos."</p> <p>6. "Parents used to beat their children. They can't do that in the United States, but they don't know alternative methods of discipline. . . ."</p> <p>9. "Southeast Asian teenagers want to be Americanized. They want to look like the other teenagers. It helps them feel comfortable at school."</p>
#12	2. Director of multilingual and multicultural education for Fresno Unified School District	3. "Television influences a great many children, but the Southeast Asian refugees see it and they are vulnerable. They are gullible. I believe they are patterning attitudes and practices after what they see on TV. As an example, a young teenage girl saw a shampoo commercial showing a girl using the shampoo and then having curly hair with more body. The Southeast Asian girl didn't understand that her hair was different and wouldn't look like that if she used that shampoo."
#12	3. A Fresno City police detective	<p>1. "Crime involving Southeast Asian teenagers has drastically increased in the last year. It started with theft, then vehicle theft, and increased to residential robberies and extortion."</p> <p>2. "Now they are getting involved in rock cocaine, so they have to steal to support their habit. Gangs have increased significantly in the last year, but it's a slower process in identifying them because they are so close-mouthed in their culture."</p> <p>3. "A lot of this stems from the breakdown in the family unit. Those parents don't have control any more. The roles have been reversed. The parents can't function without the kids to interpret for them."</p>

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE	SOURCE	QUOTATION
#12	4. Coordinator of Southeast Asian students at Fresno State University	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Parents aren't equipped to handle rebellion. When the teenagers challenge the parents' authority, the parents don't know what to do. They say, 'This is not my boy. This is not my girl.' And they blame America for changing their children." 2. "Parents feel frustrated with what's happening to their kids. They don't have enough information about the American system. This culture has a system of peer pressure that is in a completely different dimension than their own culture. In fact, the (family) values conflict."
#13	16. A non-Hmong farmer in Fresno	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "A lot are still farming slash and burn style (that they used in their homelands). They leave trash, garbage and vines around. A lot are not very neat."
#13	17. A Del Rey farmer	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. "I can't see how (those other farmers) can't see themselves mirrored in the refugees. There is a type of resentment, but aren't they just doing it the American way?"

APPENDIX J

BROADCAST TEXT: TRANSCRIPTION OF RESPONSES
TO BROADCAST QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you work for television or radio?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 Radio.

#2 Radio.

#3 Yes, Television.

#4 Television.

#5 Television.

#6 Television.

2. What is your basic job description? (reporter, producer, announcer, editor, etc.)

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 Program Director.

#2 Reporter/anchor/assignment editor.

#3 Production Assistant/Technician.

#4 News Producer.

#5 Director and Announcer.

#6 Reporter (general assignment and consumer).

3. Male or female? (Circle one.)

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 Male.

#2 Female.

#3 Male.

#4 No response.

#5 Male.

#6 Female.

4. Age:

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 44.

#2 32.

#3 24.

#4 26.

#5 39.

#6 31.

5. Please tell about the first story that comes to mind that has been covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong. (You will be asked to mention at least three as the questionnaire proceeds.)

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 The Hmong were "Hill" people who fought on our side in the Vietnam War and deserve our support because they have been driven from their homeland because of that support.

#2 For years, we have been covering the dilemma of gaining federal funds to cover the cost of helping refugees assimilate into the western culture. The first stories dealt with Fresno supervisors making trips to Washington to lobby for more money, especially since there are so many refugees who have come to Fresno in a second migration but are NOT being counted as far as federal dollars go. Also, the government has regularly trimmed back the time period for which federal money is available for the assimilation process.

#3 I saw part of a story dealing with a radio station that was devoting a portion of air time to Hmong listeners. It consisted of news and info, read in Hmong rather than music.

#4 The first story that comes to mind is a series of stories I did in a reporter's capacity. They were on the assimilation of the Hmong into the San Joaquin Valley.

#5 A story we did on a club foot boy whose parents didn't want to have surgery done cause it was against their faith.

#6 A murder-suicide. A man killed his wife and child and then himself in a church two years ago. It sticks out in my mind because of the tragedy. Experts say it was caused by culture shock.

6. What images/perceptions of Hmong do you think this story projected to the listeners/viewers?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 They were loyal to America in the war and have had a tough time putting their lives back together in this country after being forced to leave their own country.

- #2 That the refugees were more trouble than they were worth. Maybe even that they were too stupid to assimilate in a reasonable amount of time.
 - #3 This story addressed Hmong as an overlooked minority within the community and identified the station as a positive step for the Hmong community.
 - #4 I hope the stories conveyed just how difficult a process their assimilation is, and how their efforts at 'fitting in' can sometimes be misunderstood.
 - #5 Proud yet uneducated.
 - #6 One of sympathy and possibly the realization that the Hmong culture is a mystery to westerners.
7. Did you personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Why or why not?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 Yes. It appears to be well documented that they were on our side and paid dearly for that support after our withdrawal. It was presented that they need some help in coming to terms with life in the U.S.
 - #2 No. By talking with people who are working directly with the Hmong, I have learned of their desire to make a life for themselves. I have also learned about the horrible hardships they faced in the homeland and have empathy for them.
 - #3 Yes. They definitely are a minority, and their needs and rights are often overlooked.
 - #4 I think most of the younger Hmong do try to assimilate, however the older generations really do not care to fit in better.
 - #5 Yes. I see that Hmong have a sense of pride in themselves for themselves. Yet an educated one might see things different.
 - #6 Yes. I believe the general public doesn't understand the Hmong culture at all. I've had more contact with the Hmong, and I'm still confused. I am very intrigued though by the culture and the customs and by the effort of the Hmong (especially those who are older) to hold onto their heritage.
8. Please tell about another story that was covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong.

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 They have gathered in the Valley because of agriculture and climatic similarities to their home.
- #2 There have been a variety of stories done on the growth of southeast asian gangs. They specialize in car theft and sometimes prey upon their own people using extortion techniques to get money. Fresno police are working to help control the situation but because the Hmong are terribly frightened of police, they are reluctant to talk to officers. Recently, a refugee has been sworn in as a police officer and the hope is he will be able to help reduce the fear of authority.

- #3 The only other story that comes to mind dealt with some Hmong families who were living all together in only a small home. It focussed on their hardships of making ends meet in the US.
- #4 Two young Hmong men were charged with the drive-by shooting (and subsequent death) of another Hmong youth. We covered the shooting and the resulting court case.
- #5 A Hmong boy was caught running the street with a gun and got caught.
- #6 Hmong New Year. This annual celebration is always covered in this community. We usually show the costumes, the games, sometimes the food. A member of the Hmong community explains the customs and the holiday.

9. What images/perceptions of Hmong do you think this story projected to the listeners/viewers?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 I think the perception would be of farmers/field workers.
- #2 That they may be a bit weak minded and easily intimidated. Also some sympathy that they can NOT even trust law enforcement because of the experiences in their homeland.
- #3 They were poor, minority, determined, alienated, but strong people.
- #4 As it turned out the two suspects shot the youth because he was involved with one of their sisters. I think the stories aired conveyed a sense that life was not particularly sacred, and could be taken for a less-than-good reason.
- #5 That force and guns is what Hmong understand.
- #6 I think the story projected a positive image. It may have given a little more understanding of the culture.

10. Did you personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Why or why not?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 I have no first hand validity of their agricultural expertise. I think they are valid.
- #2 Yes.
- #3 It was obvious by the video that they were struggling together but hard to tell just how they felt about it. This could be a step up for them in their struggles.
- #4 Yes, to an extent. I am sorry I feel the way I do, but I have found that many shootings seem incredibly unjustified; more so than shootings in the general population. They seem to have no deeply-ingrained value of the human life.
- #5 Only to hear stories from Hmong acquaintances of the horror of Vietnam.

#6 Yes. There was nothing negative about the story and I think the differences between the Hmong and American cultures drew the attention of our viewers.

11. Please tell about another story that was covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong.

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 Some Hmong have discovered that they can work in the fields for cash "under the table" and still collect their financial assistance from the county.

#2 There have been a few stories recently about the need for bilingual teachers who can help the Hmong children in school. There are so few who can pass the difficult state tests to get accredited but there is such a great need.

#3 I did see a story concerning a sting of auto thefts. Although the story was not about Hmong's it did point to some Hmong youth gangs who had been suspect.

#4 We covered the annual Hmong New Year celebration, which was different this year, because many successful Hmong came to the gathering to "network."

#5 In Sacramento the man who come in to the school yard and shot kids in playing some were Hmong.

#6 South East Asian Council. Members of the Hmong, Laos and Vietnamese communities got together to work on goals and communication within the communities. The effort was focused on self-sufficiency. The conference was well attended by more than 150 people.

12. What images/perceptions of Hmong do you think this story projected to the listeners/viewers?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 It conflicted with the loyal American ally and hard working farmer. It made them look like they were using the system and taking advantage of it I think it made them look bad.

#2 This story might have left a feeling that the Hmong people are coming in in such great numbers that they are unfairly overburdening our school system.

#3 It projected negative perceptions, no one wants their car stolen.

#4 I think it showed off their culture in a good light because of the festive celebration, and the 'networking' angle showed people they are trying to fit in.

#5 Tragedy holds no race.

#6 Positive image.

13. Did you personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Why or why not?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 I think it is like other stories that are about some individuals in a group. People might project the image to the entire group. A Mexican on welfare might represent all Mexicans to some. A lazy black might represent all blacks as being lazy to some. When this Hmong story came out I heard the comment. . . "it didn't take them long to find out how to use the system." I do not think the images are valid.
- #2 Yes in a way because there is a great deal of money that is being spent to help these people catch up with other children. But it's important to realize that there is a great desire within many to succeed and the children seem to be more flexible than the older generation.
- #3 I think there are good and bad in all races. This story did point out the bad and could raise some anger or prejudice.
- #4 Yes, I think those perceptions are valid.
- #5 Death and killing hits anyone as tragedy.
- #6 I think the images/perceptions were valid because it showed the effort being made by the Hmong and other communities to become self-reliant. I think the perception by many people in this community is that the Southeast Asians do nothing but eat up welfare. This story showed the pride and independence of the people and showed how important it is to them that they are self-sufficient.

14. In general, what images do you think the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 They were loyal to our side in the war. That loyalty forced them out of their homeland. They had difficulty assimilating into our culture. They have come to agricultural areas with climatic similarities. They have gathered where other Hmong have gathered, banded together.
- #2 In most cases, there is perception the Hmong are rather helpless and lost in this culture and NOT bright enough to learn the benefits of western culture. This is a rather narrow interpretation from people who have no idea about the history of these people.
- #3 They are underprivileged, poor, minority. In thinking about stories very few came to mind. This tells me they are not in the public eye and are often overlooked.
- #4 Most of the stories, regardless of their focus, have probably ended up giving the impression of how poorly these people are assimilating into our culture. That is never (?) the intent, but I think it is often the result.
- #5 Equal share, in the good and bad about a new life in U.S.A.

- #6 In general I think the images are more on the negative side than the positive. The above stories came to mind for me because I covered them. But I think in general the Hmong is known for cultural problems, gang problems and unemployment

15. What positive images have been projected?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 Loyal/Hard Working/Family.
- #2 There have been a few stories about individuals, usually young students, who have excelled beyond expectations.
- #3 They are trying to come together and become "good" citizens, ie. (education, more wealthy, honest, hardworking)
- #4 Many of the Hmong, most in fact, are very, very hard workers. I think that comes across as well.
- #5 There is a better life when looked for.
- #6 That of a unique and mysterious culture. I think the people are seen as hard working by some people.

16. What negative images have been projected?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 Primitive family attitudes, use the system, illiterate.
- #2 See #14.
- #3 They can be lumped together as thieves, lazy, etc.
- #4 Despite their hard work, many Hmong are on public assistance, which causes a lot of resentment in the population not on public assistance. So they are often viewed as welfare-dependent and, by some, as lazy.
- #5 Customs and traits sometimes damper ones life style in U.S.A.
- #6 Hmong gangs is probably one of the most negative images. Also the number of people on federal assistance is often criticized by the local community. The living conditions are horrible for many of the Hmong families, and this too is projected, although I don't know whether this is a negative image.

17. Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmongs has had any effect on public perceptions of them? If so, what has been the effect, and what makes you perceive that there has been an effect?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 I think broadcast coverage has been the major creator of perceptions unless someone has direct contact, something I don't think most people have. The effect has been that very generic traits are applied to individuals and certain individual actions are assumed to be representative of the whole group. They have not yet achieved the perception of true individuality.

#2 I think the media has played a role in the preceptions because the Hmong people are such a tight community, they rarely expose themselves to the general public. There are, therefore, few direct confrontations with the Hmong people.

#3 Any story does create perceptions, like it or not. Depending on the amount and type could govern the otherwise uninformed viewer to develop opinions based on their viewing.

#4 First of all, I don't know if there has been an effect, but I think just by nature of the stories covered (often crime/court stories) there is a negative slant put on the culture. However, that could be said about any_ culture, since everyday, doing oJc. stories aren't news . . . it's the out-of-the ordinary story that gets attention. So if most stories people see about Hmong are a shooting, or another such negative story, of course the effect will be to view the entire culture negatively.

#5 Being a minority myself any plus or negative effects changes one preception of other.

#6 If anything, I think the media has been able to help dispel some of the mystery, but I can't say what the effect has been.

18. Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmongs has had any effect on public policy about Hmongs? (Political policy, welfare policy, school policy, etc.) What has been the effect, and why do you think there has been an effect?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 I don't know.

#2 About the only case in which I believe there has been any official notice of the media coverage involves a small Hmong boy in need of corrective surgery. The family fought the case all the way to the US Supreme Court. Because of the intense coverage from the family's standpoint, I believe the official players were able to view this from a broader standing and NOT by simply believing the Hmongs are stupid and Americans know what is best

#3 I honestly don't have much insight into what changes or effect has taken place if any. I would hope there would be an effect. I'm afraid that Hmong voters are an even smaller minority and would not pose an influence to policy makers.

#4 I do not think the coverage has effected policy-making decisions. By and large, we report on the policies and their effects, not the other way around (we report, policies are made).

#5 No. the Hmong population has no word in the political arena.

#6 I don't know.

19. Do you think broadcast coverage of the Hmong immigrants in Fresno has helped or hindered community acceptance of the Hmong? Why? In what way?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 I think in some ways it has helped. I had a sense of similar values because of their loyalty during the war. But in the American spirit of things it is still up to them to make it here.

#2 I believe KMJ has probably done a good job in covering the news but the news is NOT always beneficial to the image for the Hmong people. It's a difficult thing to explain but more often the trouble facing these people and the difficulty in getting money to help them assimilate are newsworthy. Certainly the positive stories are newsworthy; there're just not as many of those.

#3 I think it helps them to become recognized as a part of the community. If a person can relate to a media image which is presented, they may change or create a positive attitude.

#4 Despite the negative news stories, I hope we have balanced them with features on how hard the Hmong are working to fit in. In that, I hope we have helped. But feature stories, by nature, don't get the 'play' hard and 'sexy' news stories do.

#5 Helped, yes still hindered due to cut backs and the fast population growth of other groups in the valley.

#6 I thinked it may have helped community acceptance, although I don't believe the hmong has been fully accepted. I think the reason is just the exposure and the fact that some of the questions about difference in culture are being answered.

20. Have the stories that have been broadcast reflect images about the Hmong that are consistent with broadcasters' true feelings/attitudes about Hmong? If not, what might be some true feelings or attitudes about Hmong that are not necessarily projected in broadcast stories about them?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 I think people need to "pigeon-hole" things in their mind. Not much was known about them and people take the broadcast information and try to compile a picture in their mind. It takes time and a lot of information to stop projecting group images on to individuals. I don't think I've seen much in the way of true feelings and attitudes. News is most often facts and stories. We avoid what we really think and feel.

#2 No response.

#3 In my role in Television I seldom get out of the station to see the story first hand and then see the final product. Without this insight I am much like any other viewer in that I only see the final product. This causes me to create attitudes just like any other.

#4 Personally, the stories I have seen broadcast reflect my feelings. Whether good or bad, the stories do shed light on the culture. As I've already stated, I know for the most part that the Hmong are hard-working people trying to fit in and make a better life for themselves. I also know that there is a part of the population that can be just as dangerous as any part of our culture.

#5 None, maybe there religious feeling.

#6 Some of the stories have reflected feelings/attitudes consistent with the reporters', but I don't think the sensitivity and intelligence of these people is accurately projected.

21. Has there been management direction (direct or implied) at your broadcast outlet, or at any that you know of, that advises broadcast professionals what approach or slant to take toward Hmong stories? If so, what has it been?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 No. We try to get both sides or more sides to all stories.

#2 No response.

#3 I have not seen any.

#4 Absolutely not.

#5 Don't know.

#6 No.

22. Do broadcast stories about the Hmong treat Hmong men differently from Hmong women? Is there a different angle to the stories? What is the difference, if any?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 I can't recall any such differences.

#2 No response.

#3 I have not seen any.

#4 Yes, we have done such stories. There is really no "angle" to it. Their culture is even more sexist than ours is. That's a fact, and it's been reported. But to my knowledge there has been no finger-pointing about how liberated Americans in general are, and how Hmong have so much catching-up to do.

#5 Don't know.

#6 No.

23. What kinds of stories about the Hmong are most often broadcast? (For example: crime, cultural difference, Hmong achievement, etc.)

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 I think cultural differences. I haven't really tabulated.

#2 No response.

#3 Cultural differences and crime.

#4 Crime stories are probably covered most often, then cultural differences, and then Hmong achievement.

#5 Crime cultural differences.

#6 Whatever happens that we find out about. Usually crime and cultural difference. Sometimes issues that are important in the Hmong community.

24. Are there any differences among the local broadcast media in the way Hmong stories are handled or in the kinds of images of the Hmongs that are projected?

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 I have not noticed.

#2 No response.

#3 I have not noticed any.

#4 I don't think so.

#5 Don't know have not compared.

#6 No.

25. Do you think the Hmong community has been happy about the images that have been projected about them by the broadcast media? Do they think the images are fair and valid? On what do you base your perceptions? (Assumption? Conversation with Hmongs? etc.)

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

#1 Don't know.

#2 No response.

#3 I personally only know one Hmong. We unfortunately have not discussed racial perceptions. I'm not sure how fair or valid the Hmong feel they are being portrayed. Being in the media I know that stories are not approached with pre-dispositioned bias (sic), even though the reporter may inherently (sic) have some. I feel we do our best to be fair.

- #4 The Hmong I have talked to indicate they are not completely happy with the coverage. They say we (Americans, the media) don't understand them, and the stories we do make them look bad. I think that's true where some crime stories are concerned, but they've made themselves look bad in breaking the law. I don't think it's true when we're covering other types of stories.
- #5 Basic conversation could not really give good answer but, Hmong people sometimes feel intimidated through, language and custom difference.
- #6 I think the Hmong community has been happy with the stories. I base this on conversations with Hmong Leaders. I've never asked them directly, but the rapport is good and we get along well. I believe we have established a degree of trust. They are not afraid to participate in our stories, and they go out of their way to help us and get the information that we need.

Is there anything you could tell me about broadcasting and the Hmong that has not been addressed in this questionnaire? Any insights you can give me will be appreciated.

BROADCAST RESPONDENT

- #1 You have given this a lot more thought than I have. Good questions. It has made me think about how were covering these and other stories.
- #2 No response.
- #3 Concerning media coverage I have found that news directors look for angles or slants to the norm. This helps them come up with original stories. What's news to some is not news to others. This causes some good stories or need stories, (for humanitarian (sic) purposes etc), to go uncovered. The struggle of all minorities to become an integral part of each society is important. We should do all we can to help them. Unfortunately television is a business and business decisions are made which are not in direct parallel with a community and their needs.
- #4 I don't think the Hmong understand the basis of American news. (Dog bites man is not news; man bites dog is.) They need to realize that reporters aren't out to get them. They should also try to be more accessible to the media, so that misperceptions could be dispelled.
- #5 This could be applied to any minority group. Good luck, sorry its late.
- #6 I think if anything more stories need to be done on the Hmong. I think the community is more less ignored unless we receive a press release or something tragic happens.

APPENDIX K

BROADCAST TEXT: BROADCAST RESPONDENT NARRATIVES

Broadcast Respondent #1

I am a 44 year old male radio program director.

The first story that comes to mind that has been covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong was about how the Hmong were "Hill" people who fought on our side in the Vietnam War and deserve our support because they have been driven from their homeland because of that support.

I think this story projected the images/perceptions of Hmong that they were loyal to America in the war and have had a tough time putting their lives back together in this country after being forced to leave their own country.

I personally think these images/perceptions are valid because it appears to be well documented that they were on our side and paid dearly for that support after our withdrawal. It was presented that they need some help in coming to terms with life in the U.S.

Another story I recall was that they have gathered in the Valley because of agriculture and climatic similarities to their home. I think the perception from this story would be of farmers/field workers. I have no first hand validity of their agricultural expertise. I think they are valid.

Another story I recall is that some Hmong have discovered that they can work in the fields for cash "under the table" and still collect their financial assistance from the county. The images/perceptions of the Hmong from this story conflicted with the loyal American ally and hard working farmer. It made them look like they were using the system and taking advantage of it. I think it made them look bad. I think it is like other stories that are about some individuals in a group. People might project the image to the entire group. A Mexican on welfare might represent all Mexicans to some. A lazy black might represent all blacks as being lazy to some. When this Hmong story came out I heard the comment "... it didn't take them long to find out how to use the system." I do not think the images are valid.

In general, the images I think the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong are that they were loyal to our side in the war. That loyalty forced them out of their homeland. They had difficulty assimilating into our culture. They have come to agricultural areas with climatic similarities. They have gathered where other Hmong have gathered, banded together.

The positive images that have been projected about the Hmong are: Loyal/Hard Working/Family. The negative images that have been projected are: Primitive family attitudes, use the system, illiterate.

I think broadcast coverage has been the major creator of public perceptions about the Hmong unless someone has direct contact, something I don't think most people have. The effect has been that very generic traits are applied to individuals and certain individual actions are assumed to be representative of the whole group. They have not yet achieved the perception of true individuality. I don't know if broadcast coverage of the Hmong has had any effect on public policy.

I think in some ways broadcast coverage of the Hmong immigrants in Fresno has helped community acceptance of the Hmong. I had a sense of similar values because of their loyalty during the war. But in the American spirit of things it is still up to them to make it here.

I think people need to "pigeon-hole" things in their mind. Not much was known about them and people take the broadcast information and try to compile a picture in their mind. It takes time and a lot of information to stop projecting group images on to individuals.

I don't think I've seen much in the way of true feelings and attitudes. News is most often facts and stories. We avoid what we really think and feel. We try to get both sides or more sides to all stories.

I can't recall any differences in the way broadcast stories have treated Hmong men and Hmong women.

I think cultural differences are the kinds of stories about the Hmong that are most often broadcast. I haven't really tabulated.

I haven't noticed any differences among the local broadcast media in the way Hmong stories are handled or in the kinds of images of the Hmong that are projected.

I don't know if the Hmong community has been happy about the images that have been projected about them by the broadcast media.

Broadcast Respondent #2

I am a 32-year-old female radio reporter/anchor/assignment editor.

The first story that comes to mind that has been covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong is that for years, we have been covering the dilemma of gaining federal funds to cover the cost of helping refugees assimilate into the western culture. The first stories dealt with Fresno supervisors making trips to Washington to lobby for more money, especially since there are so many refugees who have come to Fresno in a second migration but are NOT being counted as far as federal dollars go. Also, the government has regularly trimmed back the time period for which federal money is available for the assimilation process.

The images/perceptions of Hmong I think this story projected is that the refugees were more trouble than they were worth. Maybe even that they were too stupid to assimilate in a reasonable amount of time. I personally do not think those images are valid. By talking with people who are working directly with the Hmong, I have learned of their desire to make a life for themselves. I have also learned about the horrible hardships they faced in the homeland and have empathy for them.

There have been a variety of stories done on the growth of Southeast Asian gangs. They specialize in car theft and sometimes prey upon their own people using extortion techniques to get money. Fresno police are working to help control the situation but because the Hmong are terribly frightened of police, they are reluctant to talk to officers. Recently, a refugee has been sworn in as a police officer and the hope is he will be able to help reduce the fear of authority.

The images/perceptions of Hmong this story projected is that they may be a bit weak minded and easily intimidated. Also some sympathy that they can NOT even trust law enforcement because of the experiences in their homeland. I personally think those images are valid.

There have been a few stories recently about the need for bilingual teachers who can help the Hmong children in school. There are so few who can pass the difficult state tests to get accredited but there is such a great need. This story might have left a feeling that the Hmong people are coming in in such great numbers that they are unfairly overburdening our school system. In a way I think these images are valid because there is a great deal of money that is being spent to help these people catch up with other children. But it's important to realize that there is a great desire within many to succeed and the children seem to be more flexible than the older generation.

In general, what images do I think the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong? In most cases, there is the perception that the Hmong are rather helpless and lost in this culture and NOT bright enough to learn the benefits of western culture. This is a rather narrow interpretation from people who have no idea about the history of these people.

There have been a few stories with positive images about the Hmong-about individuals, usually young students, who have excelled beyond expectations.

I think the media has played a role in public perceptions of the Hmong because the Hmong people are such a tight community, they rarely expose themselves to the general public. There are, therefore, few direct confrontations with the Hmong people.

About the only case in which I believe there has been any official notice of the media coverage about the Hmong that may have had an effect on public policy involves a small Hmong boy in need of corrective surgery. The family fought the case all the way to the US Supreme Court. Because of the intense coverage from the family's standpoint, I believe the official players were able to view this from a broader standing and NOT by simply believing the Hmong are stupid and Americans know what is best.

I believe KMJ has probably done a good job in covering the news but the news is NOT always beneficial to the image for the Hmong people. It's a difficult thing to explain but more often the trouble facing these people and the difficulty in getting money to help them assimilate are newsworthy. Certainly the positive stories are newsworthy; there're just not as many of those.

Broadcast Respondent #3

I am a 24-year-old male television production assistant/technician.

The first story that comes to mind that has been covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong is that I saw part of a story dealing with a radio station that was devoting a portion of air time to Hmong listeners. It consisted of news and info, read in Hmong rather than music. This story addressed Hmong as an overlooked minority within the community and identified the station as a positive step for the Hmong community. They definitely are a minority, and their needs and rights are often overlooked.

The only other story that comes to mind dealt with some Hmong families who were living all together in only a small home. It focused on their hardships of making ends meet in the US. The image this story projected about the Hmong is that they were poor, minority, determined, alienated, but strong people. It was obvious by the video that they were struggling together but hard to tell just how they felt about it. This could be a step up for them in their struggles.

I did see a story concerning a string of auto thefts. Although the story was not about Hmong*s it did point to some Hmong youth gangs who had been suspect. It projected negative perceptions, no one wants their car stolen. I think there are good and bad in all races. This story did point out the bad and could raise some anger or prejudice.

In general, the images I think the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong are that they are underprivileged, poor, minority. In thinking about stories very few came to mind. This tells me they are not in the public eye and are often overlooked.

The positive images have been projected are that they are trying to come together and become "good" citizens, ie. (education, more wealthy, honest, hardworking.) The negative images projected are that they can be lumped together as thieves, lazy, etc.

Any story does create perceptions, like it or not. Depending on the amount and type could govern the otherwise uninformed viewer to develop opinions based on their viewing.

I honestly don't have much insight into what public policy changes or effect has taken place if any. I would hope there would be an effect. I'm afraid that Hmong voters are an even smaller minority and would not pose an influence to policy makers.

I think broadcast coverage of the Hmong helps them to become recognized as a part of the community. If a person can relate to a media image which is presented, they may change or create a positive attitude.

In my role in television I seldom get out of the station to see the story first hand and then see the final product. Without this insight I am much like any other viewer in that I only see the final product. This causes me to create attitudes just like any other.

Cultural differences and crime are the kinds of stories about the Hmong most often broadcast.

I haven't noticed any differences among the local broadcast media in the way Hmong stories are handled or in the kinds of images of the Hmong that are projected.

I personally only know one Hmong. We unfortunately have not discussed racial perceptions. I'm not sure how fair or valid the Hmong feel they are being portrayed by the broadcast media. Being in the media I know that stories are not approached with pre-dispositioned biases, even though the reporter may inherently have some. I feel we do our best to be fair.

Concerning media coverage, I have found that news directors look for angles or slants to the norm. This helps them come up with original stories. What's news to some is not news to others. This causes some good stories or need stories, (for humanitarian purposes etc), to go uncovered. The struggle of all minorities to become an integral part of each society is important. We should do all we can to help them. Unfortunately television is a business and business decisions are made which are not in direct parallel with a community and their needs.

Broadcast Respondent #4

I am a 26-year-old television news producer. [Respondent did not indicate gender.]

The first broadcast story about the Hmong that comes to mind is a series of stories I did in a reporter's capacity. They were on the assimilation of the Hmong into the San Joaquin Valley. I hope the stories conveyed just how difficult a process their assimilation is, and how their efforts at 'fitting in' can sometimes be misunderstood.

I think most of the younger Hmong do try to assimilate, however the older generations really do not care to fit in better.

Another story that was covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong was that two young Hmong men were charged with the drive-by shooting (and subsequent death) of another Hmong youth. We covered the shooting and the resulting court case. As it turned out the two suspects shot the youth because he was involved with one of their sisters. I think the stories aired conveyed a sense that life was not particularly sacred, and could be taken for a less-than-good reason.

To an extent I think those images are valid. I am sorry I feel the way I do, but I have found that many shootings seem incredibly unjustified; more so than shootings in the general population. They seem to have no deeply-ingrained value of the human life.

Another story was that we covered the annual Hmong New Year celebration, which was different this year, because many successful Hmong came to the gathering to "network." I think it showed off their culture in a good light because of the festive celebration, and the 'networking' angle showed people they are trying to fit in. I think those perceptions are valid.

In general, most of the stories in the broadcast media about the Hmong, regardless of their focus, have probably ended up giving the impression of how poorly these people are assimilating into our culture. That is never the intent, but I think it is often the result.

The positive images that have been projected are that many of the Hmong, most in fact, are very, very hard workers. I think that comes across as well.

The negative images are that despite their hard work, many Hmong are on public assistance, which causes a lot of resentment in the population not on public assistance. So they are often viewed as welfare-dependent and, by some, as lazy.

First of all, I don't know if there has been an effect on public perception as a result of broadcast coverage of the Hmong, but I think just by nature of the stories covered (often crime/court stories) there is a negative slant put on the culture. However, that could be said about any culture, since everyday, doing o.k. stories aren't news ... it's the out-of-the ordinary story that gets attention. So if most stories people see about Hmong are a shooting, or another such negative story, of course the effect will be to view the entire culture negatively.

I do not think the broadcast coverage has effected [sic] policy-making decisions. By and large, we report on the policies and their effects, not the other way around (we report, policies are made).

Despite the negative news stories about the Hmong, I hope we have balanced them with features on how hard the Hmong are working to fit in. In that, I hope we have helped in their acceptance in the community. But feature stories, by nature, don't get the 'play' hard and 'sexy' news stories do.

Personally, the stories I have seen broadcast reflect my feelings. Whether good or bad, the stories do shed light on the culture. As I've already stated, I know for the most part that the Hmong are hard-working people trying to fit in and make a better life for themselves. I also know that there is a part of the population that can be just as dangerous as any part of our culture.

Do broadcast stories about the Hmong treat Hmong men differently from Hmong women? Is there a different angle to the stories? Yes, we have done such stories. There is really no "angle" to it. Their culture is even more sexist than ours is. That's a fact, and it's been reported. But to my knowledge there has been no finger-pointing about how liberated Americans in general are, and how Hmong have so much catching-up to do.

Crime stories are probably covered most often about the Hmong, then cultural differences, and then Hmong achievement.

The Hmong I have talked to indicate they are not completely happy with the coverage. They say we (Americans, the media) don't understand them, and the stories we do make them look bad. I think that's true where some crime stories are concerned; but they've made themselves look bad in breaking the law. I don't think it's true when we're covering other types of stories.

I don't think the Hmong understand the basis of American news. (Dog bites man is not news; man bites dog is.) They need to realize that reporters aren't out to get them. They should also try to be more accessible to the media, so that misperceptions could be dispelled.

Broadcast Respondent #5

I am a 39-year-old male television director and announcer.

The first story that comes to mind that has been covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong is a story we did on a club foot boy whose parents didn't want to have surgery done cause it was against then-faith. This projected the image that the Hmong are proud yet uneducated.

I see that Hmong have a sense of pride in themselves for themselves. Yet an educated one might see things different.

Another story was that a Hmong boy was caught running the street with a gun and got caught. This projected the image that force and guns is what Hmong understand.

Do I personally think those images/perceptions were valid? Only to hear stories from Hmong acquaintances of the horror of Vietnam.

Another story was that in Sacramento the man who come in to the school yard and shot kids in playing some were Hmong. This projects the image that tragedy holds no race. Death and killing hits anyone as tragedy.

In general, the images I think the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong are equal share, in the good and bad about a new life in U.S.A.

The positive images are that there is a better life when looked for. The negative images that have been projected are that customs and traits sometimes damper ones life style in U.S.A.

Do I think broadcast coverage of the Hmong has had any effect on public perceptions of them? Being a minority myself any plus or negative effects changes one perception of other.

The Hmong population has no word in the political arena.

Broadcast coverage of the Hmong immigrants in Fresno has helped, yet still hindered due to cut backs and the fast population growth of other groups in the valley.

Crime and cultural differences are the kinds of stories about the Hmong are most often broadcast

Do I think the Hmong community has been happy about the images that have been projected about them by the broadcast media? Basic conversation could not really give good answer but, Hmong people sometimes feel intimidated through language and custom difference.

This could be applied to any minority group.

Broadcast Respondent #6

I am a 31-year old female television reporter (general assignment and consumer).

The first story that comes to mind that has been covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong was a murder-suicide. A man killed his wife and child and then himself in a church two years ago. It sticks out in my mind because of the tragedy. Experts say it was caused by culture shock.

The images/perceptions of Hmong this story projected was one of sympathy and possibly the realization that the Hmong culture is a mystery to westerners.

I think these images were valid. I believe the general public doesn't understand the Hmong culture at all. I've had more contact with the Hmong, and I'm still confused. I am very intrigued though by the

culture and the customs and by the effort of the Hmong (especially those who are older) to hold onto their heritage.

Another story covered in the broadcast media about the Hmong was about the Hmong New Year. This annual celebration is always covered in this community. We usually show the costumes, the games, sometimes the food. A member of the Hmong community explains the customs and the holiday.

I think the story projected a positive image. It may have given a little more understanding of the culture. There was nothing negative about the story and I think the differences between the Hmong and American cultures drew the attention of our viewers.

Another story was about the South East Asian Council. Members of the Hmong, Laos and Vietnamese communities got together to work on goals and communication within the communities. The effort was focused on self-sufficiency. The conference was well attended by more than 150 people. The story projected a positive image.

I think the images/perceptions were valid because it showed the effort being made by the Hmong and other communities to become self-reliant. I think the perception by many people in this community is that the Southeast Asians do nothing but eat up welfare. This story showed the pride and independence of the people and showed how important it is to them that they are self-sufficient.

In general I think the images the broadcast media have projected about the Hmong are more on the negative side than the positive. The above stories came to mind for me because I covered them. But I think in general the Hmong is known for cultural problems, gang problems and unemployment.

The positive images that have been projected are those of a unique and mysterious culture. I think the people are seen as hard working by some people.

Hmong gangs is probably one of the most negative images. Also the number of people on federal assistance is often criticized by the local community. The living conditions are horrible for many of the Hmong families, and this too is projected, although I don't know whether this is a negative image.

If anything, I think the media has been able to help dispel some of the mystery about the Hmong, but I can't say what the effect has been. I think it may have helped community acceptance, although I don't believe the Hmong have been fully accepted. I think the reason is just the exposure and the fact that some of the questions about difference in culture are being answered.

Some of the stories have reflected feelings/attitudes consistent with those of broadcast reporters, but I don't think the sensitivity and intelligence of these people is accurately projected.

The stories that are broadcast about the Hmong are whatever happens that we find out about. Usually crime and cultural difference. Sometimes issues that are important in the Hmong community.

I think the Hmong community has been happy with the stories. I base this on conversations with Hmong leaders. I've never asked them directly, but the rapport is good and we get along well. I believe we have established a degree of trust. They are not afraid to participate in our stories, and they go out of their way to help us and get the information that we need.

I think if anything more stories need to be done on the Hmong. I think the community is more or less ignored unless we receive a press release or something tragic happens.

APPENDIX L

EXPERIENTIAL TEXT: TRANSCRIPTION OF RESPONSES TO
"PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE HMONG IN
FRESNO" QUESTIONNAIRE

What is your occupation?

RESPONDENT

- #1 Librarian.
- #2 Student.
- #3 Student/Computer Science.
- #4 College Administrator.
- #5 Secondary English Teacher.
- #6 College student who works as a secretary. Major (Liberal Studies and Business).
- #7 Salesman, Hardware - Sears.
- #8 Housewife - school teacher.
- #9 Student.
- #10 Teacher.
- #11 Program Development Asst.
- #12 Truck loader.
- #13 Housewife.
- #14 Student.
- #15 Administrative Secretary, Fresno City College.
- #16 Teacher.
- #17 Student Nurse.
- #18 Secretary.
- #19 Librarian.
- #20 Education.
- #21 Community College Librarian.
- #22 Buss. AccL
- #23 Management.
- #24 Teacher.

#25 Teacher.

#26 Student.

#27 Secretary.

What is your age? Male or Female?

RESPONDENT

#1 52, Female.

#2 23, Male.

#3 36, Male.

#4 59, Male.

#5 43, Female.

#6 23, Female.

#7 26, Male.

#8 60, Female.

#9 23, Female.

#10 45, Female.

#11 37, Female.

#12 26, Male.

#13 66, Female.

#14 46, Female.

#15 23, Female.

#16 51, Female.

#17 22, Female.

#18 48, Female.

#19 44, Male.

#20 26, Male.

- #21 50, Male.
- #22 20, Female.
- #23 42, Female.
- #24 26, Female.
- #25 52, Male.
- #26 22, Male.
- #27 29, Female.

3. Stated briefly, what do you know about why the Hmongs have come to America?

RESPONDENT

- #1 Factors dating to Vietnam War and Communist-they helped opposition and were greatly abused by them.
- #2 Litde. I had two roommates that were Hmongs.
- #3 Because they helped U.S. forces during Vietnam war, and they would probably be killed if they returned home.
- #4 To start a new life. To escape persecution. As a payoff for assisting U.S. forces in Vietnam.
- #5 My understanding is that at least the first wave on Hmong immigration was a result of agreements with Hmong tribes made during the Vietnam war which resulted in their endangerment in the region after our withdrawal. Subsequent immigration is from refugees and probably family members.
- #6 I am not very familiar with Hmong heritage or status but I understand that there is an abundance here in Fresno and many family communities are flourishing.
- #7 Kicked out of Laos because of their involvement with helping us fight Viet Cong. When communist came to Laos, we refused to help them, and then said they could come to U.S. if they could get here.
- #8 The Hmongs assisted the U.S. CIA and U.S. war machine against the communist in the Vietnam War. The U.S. promised asylum to the Hmong if political events transpired in such a way that it became necessary for the safety of the Hmongs involved with U.S.
- #9 They are trying to escape real political oppression. They see America as a land of freedom and opportunity.
- #10 Hmongs have come to America because of persecution in their homeland and because America has afforded them the opportunity to immigrate.

- #11 I understand that they resettled here due to the displacement caused by the Vietnam War.
- #12 They are people who have fled from their country because of the oppression of their government. They usually lived in the mountains and hills and they fled here seeking freedom.
- #13 Only because of the war. They were treated so badly~in order to survive they had to leave their homeland.
- #14 They came as an oppressed group from Vietnam and traveled by boat. They suffered many hardships along the way; and, if they were to return to their country, they would not be accepted back. They came from jungle territory and lived primitively.
- #15 I know very little. They were under communist type situations and were being hunted if they tried to leave the country.
- #16 My understanding is that they are escaping an oppressive regime.
- #17 Because the U.S. did damage to their home country we gave them immigrant status.
- #18 For a better life.
- #19 To get away from political persecution.
- #20 For freedom and advancement
- #21 I believe they have come here because of political unrest in their home land and because they want a better life, free from persecution. They had a limited future and little hope of happiness.
- #22 The reason the Hmong came to America, because they are running away from the communist hoping to find a better society, education and better living condition.
- #23 They came to America in order to be free of situation in Vietnam.
- #24 I would guess that they would come for freedom as well as a better lifestyle.
- #25 As an aftermath of the Vietnam War.
- #26 We fought them in Vietnam War. They are considered the Hill billies of Laos. We left without finishing the war. They had to leave their country or die from the Northern Vietnamese. Many went to Thailand to wait for family and as a sanctuary. They were then brought here.
- #27 War in their country, poverty.

Do you have direct/personal contact with Hmongs?

RESPONDENT

#1 Yes.

#2 Yes.

#3 No.

#4 Yes.

#5 Yes.

#6 Yes.

#7 Yes.

#8 (No Response.)

#9 No.

#10 No.

#11 Yes.

#12 Yes.

#13 No.

#14 No (in the past).

#15 Yes.

#16 LitUe.

#17 Yes.

#18 No.

#19 Yes.

#20 Yes.

#21 Yes.

#22 Yes.

#23 Yes.

#24 No.

#25 No.

#26 No.

#27 Yes.

If so, in what setting(s) do you have contact? (Work, home, PTA, school, etc.)

RESPONDENT

#1 Work, church.

#2 School.

#3 (No Response.)

#4 Work, school.

#5 Now--work»school. Previously at Valley Children's Hospital.

#6 School.

#7 Home. They live down the street from me in "sin city."

#8 Work.

#9 N/A.

#10 (No Response.)

#11 Work.

#12 Church.

#13 (No Response.)

#14 Hospital.

#15 Work, School.

#16 School.

#17 I work in a labor and delivery unit where many Hmongs deliver.

#18 (No Response.)

#19 Work.

#20 Work.

- #21 At work-I help students who are attending college when they come to the library to do research, etc.
- #22 I'm a member of South East Asian, therefore I know a lot of Hmong people.
- #23 Previous work.
- #24 N/A.
- #25 (No Response.)
- #26 (No Response.)
- #27 Work.

6. What personal experiences have you had with Hmong?

RESPONDENT

- #1 There is a congregation of about 60 at church. I have been to their meetings and celebrations-eaten with them, had their grade school children in class. They are students at F.C.C. and come in library. I have visited in their homes-taught Hmong in high school setting.
- #2 I roomed with two Hmong so we talked, had parties together, played tennis and fixed meals.
- #3 (No Response.)
- #4 Assisted in the development of a TV series helping Hmong understand laws and regulations pertaining to the legal system, hunting and fishing, and driving regulations.
- #5 I first had personal experiences with Hmong while working at Valley Children's Hospital. I often was responsible for contacting translators for the doctors and nurses to communicate with parents and to obtain consents. Occasionally tribal customs came into conflict with hospital practices, ie. - FV's being started on babies heads, cutting off woven bracelets, etc. On one occasion the tribal shaman came in and started a small fire under the bed in Ped. ICU. On the other hand Hmong who had been in the U.S. for a time seemed to have made excellent progress in language acquisition and managing the balance of the old customs and the new country.

As a teacher I have been impressed with the effort my Hmong students put into their work. They are generally a delight to teach as they are respectful of teachers and learning. They tend to make excellent progress.
- #6 Brief conversations about school. I've noticed they are quiet and keep to themselves.
- #7 None really.
- #8 Teaching-elementary school. (5 yrs. experience with Lao in church capacity.)

- #9 I have seen them around the school campus. They seem to keep to themselves for the most part. Some of them seem to try too hard to fit in with American culture as portrayed by the media, ie. smoking, partying. The Hmongs I've seen at church functions seem very humble and sweet
- #10 Two years ago I taught summer school, and I had many Hmongs in my class. Also, my daughter, a sophomore in college, interviewed a Hmong college student for a paper my daughter wrote for a college class. She shared insight she received from the Hmong woman.
- #11 I have provided them with information about educational opportunities at the Community College level.
- #12 (No Response.)
- #13 I worked for one half day at the rag picking factory and a Hmong was the supervisor. He was very nice-helpful and seemed pleasant. I was surprised at how small in size he was.
- #14 While caring for their young children, I have observed primitive behaviors when dealing with medicine. They are not trust worthy in that area-afraid of modern medicine. They shook chickens over their children and had their own priest come in periodically. They are a close knit family, but are not outwardly affectionate with their children.
- #15 I have served many students. The EOAS program deals with low income under-represented students. Southeast Asians are among the students. Most are soft spoken and very polite. Many come to the college to learn and better themselves. However, there are many who also abuse the system, do not want to do the required studies and tutorial hours, and are only interested in the funding we provide. Unfortunately this is the case in every race not just Southeast Asian. Most of my experience has been good. The only "handicap" is the language barrier. Many times it is difficult to understand students but the students are very patient in getting their message through and there is a Hmong Assist, on staff.
- #16 Almost none.
- #17 I know that they have a lot of children. They don't really believe in birth control. So they have upwards of 10-15 kids. They start having children at about age 15. During labor they are very stoic. The further dilated they are the quieter they get. They don't pay much attention to their babies immediately after their birth because they're afraid the spirits will take the baby away. They also wear some type of life bracelets that should not be cut off for whatever reason.
- #18 None directly~at least that I know of.
- #19 None.
- #20 In school and at work I have dealt with Hmongs as they have attended school or tried to gain admittance to college.
- #21 My contact and experiences have been limited. Several students attend the college where I work as a librarian. They sometimes ask for help in the library. I help them find books, use the card catalog, etc.

- #22 I was once dated a Hmong guy.
- #23 Supervised their work.
- #24 None really. See them mostly on T.V.
- #25 None.
- #26 None.
- #27 I've helped them at work.

What do you think or feel that is positive about the Hmong? (What do you think is good about the Hmong?)

RESPONDENT

- #1 They are hard-working, family oriented, law abiding, appreciative of help. Friendly when approached, humble in demeanor.
- #2 (No Response.)
- #3 Most are diligent, hard working.
- #4 Good moral attitudes and positive work ethic. As they develop language skills they should become a major economic force.
- #5 The Hmong I have had contact with have had very strong family ties and support. They value education generally and are hard-working. They seem to maintain valuable tradition and arts.
- #6 This question doesn't make sense to me. They seem normal like other foreign cultures that I've come into contact with.
- #7 They are positive proof of the American Dream, they are definitely . . .
- #8 Great patience, self-effacing. Parents strongly support a good education for their children, encourage completion of homework. Sibling children play together, with the eldest children responsible for younger children.
- #9 They have had enough hard experiences in their country to give them humility, compassion and a want for better life of freedom.
- #10 Their courage in leaving their homeland and attempting to adjust to a very different culture. Their stamina needed to survive horrendous conditions in their homeland and difficult conditions here.
- #11 They are eager to learn about education and personal growth.
- #12 The younger generation seems to be very ambitious.

- #13 (No Response.)
- #14 They are a courageous people. They are willing to work hard. I have heard a teacher say that Hmong children are her best students.
- #15 Most are hard working. I mean this statement as educational they want to learn and work very hard to get good grades.
- #16 By reputation as told to me by other teachers-eager, hardworking, wanting to learn.
- #17 They are very family oriented.
- #18 Close knit, determined to better themselves.
- #19 Cultural aspects such as food, music, and history.
- #20 Hard workers. Come together as group/family to get job done.
- #21 I have no feelings about this-or no basis to answer the question.
- #22 Hmong people are very nice, they are not aggressive. They are friendly, nice to everyone.
- #23 The ones I know are good workers, loyal people.
- #24 They are hard workers-they have close knit families.
- #25 Without any experience with Hmong (see [question] 4 & 6), I have no opinion on (question) #'s 7-13.
- #26 They are very good at survival skills. They work hard. They are overcoming a giant culture change.
- #27 They are extremely persistent, determined and industrious.
8. What do you think or feel that is negative about the Hmong? (What do you think is not-so-good about the Hmong?)

RESPONDENT

- #1 They have some difficulty adapting or accepting U.S. values in regard to personal hygiene and eating; time and schedules are meaningless.
- #2 (No Response.)
- #3 Some form gangs and prey on others.
- #4 Slowness to adapt to the new culture. Control of the leadership over the group. Misunderstanding of U.S. law and regulations.

- #5 I have encountered some pretty bad drivers. My students sometimes complain that their elders hang on too tightly to the old ways and still think in terms of going "home" while the U.S. is home to the younger generation. I fear that many Hmongs may fall victim to the negative aspects of American society and lose the strengths they brought.
- #6 N/A.
- #7 They are getting things for free, good cars. They are living off the government and are welshing on their debts.
- #8 The welfare system is corrupting some fathers. They cannot find high paying jobs so some will not work. Too much free time for adults leads to gambling or drinking-
- #9 They are too easily led into the bad things in American culture in their trying to fit in.
- #10 None about Hmongs as a group.
- #11 The Hmong with whom I come into contact are seeking to upgrade their communication skills and level of understanding as it relates to cultural differences/barriers. I have not experienced any negative feedback.
- #12 Some of them have formed gangs and they are very violent. More so than other gangs. Also it doesn't seem that some of them want to try to adapt to the American culture at all.
- #13 I feel the same as other people-good and bad applies in all races and creeds.
- #14 Nothing, other than it will take a while for them to adjust to modern ways.
- #15 Many do not know or understand procedures such as knocking before entering an office.
- #16 The numbers of people have impacted our schools and support services heavily.
- #17 Very many are on Medi-Cal and Welfare.
- #18 I've heard of some of the crime they're involved in (stealing cars, particularly).
- #19 Other people's stereotypes. No so good that they have to leave their country.
- #20 The stereotypes/there hasn't been any response to them.
- #21 I read articles in the local papers and I hear others talk about them. Most of this negative. They seem to be creating more negative news than positive.
- #22 The only thing that is negative about the Hmongs is their culture. I hate when young teenager at the age of 15 get marry. They culture expect their children to marry early.
- #23 No comment-do not know.
- #24 They are on the lower end of the socio-economic scale and therefore considered less desirable.

#25 (No Response.)

#26 They need time to adapt Which isn't bad.

#27 I don't like to characterize groups negatively.

9. Would you say your overall experience with Hmongs has been generally positive, negative, or mixed?

RESPONDENT

#1 Mixed, but mostly positive.

#2 Generally positive.

#3 Generally positive.

#4 Positive.

#5 Positive generally.

#6 Generally positive.

#7 Mixed.

#8 Generally positive.

#9 Positive.

#10 Positive.

#11 Generally positive.

#12 Positive.

#13 Positive.

#14 Positive.

#15 Mixed, more positive.

#16 Generally positive.

#17 Mixed.

#18 None.

#19 Generally positive.

#20 Positive.

#21 My limited experiences have been positive.

#22 Mixed.

#23 Positive.

#24 Positive.

#25 (No Response.)

#26 Positive.

#27 Mixed, like anyone else.

10. Briefly, give some examples of positive, negative, and/or mixed experiences.

RESPONDENT

#1 They have been friendly, affectionate in high school and church setting. They have been ready to assist in my work and appreciative of my help. They do not seem interested in getting to Sunday School on time and children disrupt coming in late.

#2 They would do nice little acts of service. But I had problems with some of their unsanitary culinary habits. I'm a health specialist to be and some of their practices made me sick.

#3 My wife works at a restaurant where several Hmongs are employed. She likes their work, the only problem is that they don't speak English very well-but some are taking classes to improve their English.

#4 Good workers—we hire lots of students. They tend to be highly motivated and willing to do a good job if they understand.

#5 See (question) #6.

#6 Positive experience; capable of communication and concerned with their aspects in school.

#7 Negative—seeing them in big nice cars, driving.

#8 (No Response.)

#9 The positive things I've seen have been examples of their childlike humility in church settings.

#10 While teaching my summer school classes, I came into contact with Hmong students who were eager to learn. In fact, when the July 4 holiday rolled around, all of them wanted to meet rather than to take the holiday. (I wanted to take the holiday.)

#11 See (question) #8.

#12 (No Response.)

- #13 (No Response.)
- #14 I admired the way they took turns as a family through the night to be at their children's bedsides.
- #15 Positive: polite, patient, understanding.
Negative: Some are rude.
- #16 Nothing specific-newspaper reading, teacher reports only.
- #17 Positive because I have learned a lot about them. They also have exciting child labors because they usually barely make it to the hospital in time to deliver. Negative-it makes me mad that they are saturating our welfare program and depriving some U.S. citizens from aid.
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 Only interaction has been in the library and here they are like everyone else, looking for library info.
- #20 The hard work put into school or attempting to gain education by asking!
- #21 I haven't had any personal negative experiences but hear of others who have. I hear about Hmongs who have over crowded apartments with 12 or more family members in one apartment. They run down property values. Don't practice birth control-have more kids than they can afford. Get on welfare as soon as they arrive here. They roam neighborhoods at night in vans stealing from garages, like gypsies of old. They look for dogs and cats to cook for their dinner, etc. They have unsanitary health and personal habits. They don't do yard work and keep their yards up.
- #22 Positive: They are friendly to be with. Negative: Marry too early.
- #23 As stated in question #7.
- #24 Positive. I saw on the news where the Hmongs broadcast their own radio station in their native tongue. They tell about current events in the area as well as world events, so that the elderly Hmongs can be well informed. The radio D J. expressed how concerned his people are for the older Hmongs simply because they never learn the English language and have a difficult time getting along.
- #25 (No Response.)
- #26 When I've asked them questions they take time to understand and answer me.
- #27 Just like everyone else; some were nice, some were obnoxious.

If you have had conversations about Hmongs with others, or have heard others talk about Hmongs, what kinds of comments have you heard others make about them?

RESPONDENT

- #1 "They are dirty." "Their houses smell funny."
- #2 Usually heard derogatory statements. Usually they are from people with little if any contact with the Hmongs.
- #3 See (question) #10.
- #4 Much confusion between Southeast Asian cultures, i.e., Hmong, Vietnamese, Cambodian, etc. People tend to place them in one pot.
- #5 Occasionally I have heard comments about Hmongs eating neighborhood pets or Hmong gangs but mostly my colleagues and friends have had the same kinds of experiences and impressions I have.
- #6 I've heard that they have gone through really hard times, their culture relies on their God and that they don't believe in medication.
- #7 Lowlifes, thieves, no goods, free loaders.
- #8 Industrious. Loyal to friends and family. Love of family.
- #9 The first generation ones are okay, but the ones that are born in America try to fit in with the "cool" crowd and get spoiled and "wild." I've also heard that they are living off welfare and are backward.
- #10 They're dirty, they're lazy, they stay to themselves and make no effort to assimilate. They eat their pets.
- #11 I've heard that they are unproductive members of society and unwilling to change their unproductive (as defined by our standards) behavior.
- #12 Their gangs are violent, they're lazy people, they steal people's fruit from their trees, they'll try to eat your dogs or cats.
- #13 One lady I talked to had a class of teenagers who were Hmongs and she said they were cooperative and appreciative.
- #14 With fresh immigrants I have not been able to communicate directly. The second generation is more open to communication. Some people worry about their cleanliness and the fact that many children do not become immunized—but Fresno is working on that.
- #15 Heard comments that they use the system, are automatically bad drivers, are dirty.
- #16 I have heard typical American cycle of bigotry. Other minorities, blacks and Latinos talk about Hmongs being on welfare, having fancy cars and TV, and having lots of kids, etc.

#17 (See negative [question] #10.)

#18 Negative—stealing cars, living together in great numbers and not taking good care of their living quarters, killing and eating people's pets.

#19 Some negative comments: get on welfare in this country, have lots of children, cohesive. Some positive comments: resourceful, industrious, hard-working.

#20 Negative, they eat cats, are pushy, always on welfare, etc.

#21 See (question) #10.

#22 N/A.

#23 They are considered lower status than Vietnamese and other SouthEast Asians.

#24 Have heard that education is the only way out of their economic system~so they drive their kids to do very well.

#25 (No Response.)

#26 They are a happy, kind, simple people.

#27 They don't speak English. They are hard to understand. Their culture is so different.

12. In general, would you say other people that you know have had positive, negative, or mixed experiences with Hmongs? Why?

RESPONDENT

#1 Negative/Mixed. They make harsh judgements on people who have different values or they fail to have more experience with them.

#2 I believe there are negative attitudes and with experiences they are either greatedened or completely thrown out

#3 See (question) #10.

#4 Most people I am associated with have had a similar experience.

#5 Generally positive. Most of the people I know are in education and their experiences have been like mine for the most part.

#6 I feel a lot of people have had mixed feelings cause different cultures (compared to Americans) have different communication skills and may come off rather rude but Hmong probably, don't mean to be like that.

#7 Negative. Racism-people are against anything that is not like them. Fresno is the biggest racist area I have ever seen, or lived in.

- #8 Positive.
- #9 Mixed. Some who work with them in church really love them. Others who don't know them feel they are unfriendly, backward, and lazy.
- #10 The people I know have had positive experiences. These are teachers and my daughter. The teachers have had similar experiences to mine in (question) #6. Of course, some have experienced a small number of gang members~but that's in any culture. Other people who have not personally known the Fimong people, frequently feel negatively toward them.
- #11 Mixed, because they have reached a broader representation of Hmong people.
- #12 Positive. Most of the time it is with those who go to church and who are trying to follow a religious way of life.
- #13 My grandson had a friend (Hmong) in school and he related that the boy was having a hard time because of the language difficulties and different background. Sometimes the child was hard to get along with.
- #14 Positive within a hospital setting at "Children's." The nurses are oriented to their culture; however, some are impatient
- #15 Mixed. Some say they work very well with them, others say they are lazy.
- #16 Almost none.
- #17 Negative see (question) #10.
- #18 Mixed.
- #19 Mixed. My friends are of mixed persuasion, some more conservative than others.
- #20 Mixed. Some people are more understanding than others.
- #21 Most have negative comments. See above. Some Hmongs grow and sell strawberries and vegetables at roadside stands. This appears to be a good thing.
- #22 N/A.
- #23 Positive.
- #24 Negative: Police told me that the "bad" part of town, or the "criminals" consisted mainly of Hmongs.
- #25 (No Response.)
- #26 Positive - persons in the church. Books I read. Negative - fishermen that say that they don't follow the fishing laws.
- #27 Mixed experiences. Mostly people comment on their language and their children.

Have you read newspaper stories about Hmong? If so, briefly mention what kinds of things you have read.

RESPONDENT

- #1 I do not know if I have read of them in particular or of other SouthEast Asian people. One man committed suicide when arrested for some minor infraction. Their fear of police seems extraordinary.
- #2 (No Response.)
- #3 I don't take the paper.
- #4 Much about their cultural celebration has been noted in the papers and T.V. It's fascinating!
- #5 I have read little about Hmong.
- #6 Yes, I have read a brief story in the library when they had Hmong month. The 2nd floor of the library provided framed pictures and backgrounds of Hmong students who attend CSU Fresno. You can see how far (poor-rich) the family unit has come since they've left their country. I guess it sort of shows how lucky most Americans are.
- #7 Fresno P.D. Hmong gangs are stealing and destroying Fresno.
- #8 Achievement of honors, awards, and recognition of excellence in scholastic achievement A few crime stories, a few suicides-
- #9 I have read stories of the terrors they left behind, how they are establishing themselves here in America, and also about their distrust in the medical profession and in the police.
- #10 I've read about Hmong cultural activities and about Hmong difficulties with adjustment and about Hmong crime.
- #11 No.
- #12 No. -
- #13 Remember a story and picture of a family who were trying to cure their son of being very badly crippled by sacrificing a chicken and were upset when the county wanted to give him (the crippled boy) good sound medical help.
- #14 No.
- #15 No, not much of a paper reader. Sorry.
- #16 Yes. A case in Fresno of a physically handicapped child for whom social agencies went to court for corrective surgery, but whose family felt for various cultural reasons, he should not have surgery. The family won, but much bitterness and lack of sensitivity to cultural difference were strong. Other stories-job getting, education, children adjusting, etc. have been mostly favorable.

#17 No.

#18 Not anything lately that I can recall.

#19 Yes. About cultural events, about living in Fresno.

#20 Yes. Their living conditions where they are from. Going after an education.

#21 I have read about their rapid grow in the area and their increasing population. About their problems of not speaking English in the public elementary schools. I have read articles about their holidays and conventions, New Year Celebrations, etc. About the need for a Hmong officer on the police force who can speak their language and handle their cases.

#22 The only thing I heard about them in the newspaper was Hmong New Year.

#23 Articles about heritage and stitchery, etc. Cultural practices.

#24 No.

#25 (No Response.)

#26 No. I've read books about the war.

#27 I've read the story about the boy with club feet.

14. Have you heard anything about Hmong on radio or television? If so, briefly mention what kinds of things you have heard or seen.

RESPONDENT

#1 I watch little TV or hear radio.

#2 (No Response.)

#3 Gang problems.

#4 Same as (question) #13.

#5 Very little.

#6 I've seen a story in the news on how Hmong children are represented in our schools (not a very nice sight).

#7 Same as newspaper. Mixed in negative and positive.

#8 Crimes against Hmong by members of other ethnic minority groups. Their fear of getting in trouble with the U.S. legal system over child discipline, welfare, medical, authorities.

#9 I've seen television stories of a family who would not allow surgery on their son's club foot because they thought it was a payment for ancestral sins.

- #10 Same as (question) #13.
- #11 (No Response.)
- #12 Yes. That many were being denied entrance to some of the top universities in the country even though their scores rank amongst the highest in the country also.
- #13 Little.
- #14 No.
- #15 The celebration of the Hmong New Year.
- #16 Little.
- #17 (No Response.)
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 Info, about where Hmong can go for assistance with agencies.
- #20 Same as in newspaper.
- #21 See question #13.
- #22 (See) Question #13.
- #23 Cultural.
- #24 Yes--again (as stated in [question] #10). This was on television.
- #25 Yes - On local news broadcasts-that they are having the "usual" acculturation problems of any immigrant group.
- #26 Just that the children are excelling in their studies by studying a lot.
- #27 I've seen news stories about their cultural events and we have several government agencies in Fresno who report on Southeast Asian people.
15. When did you first begin to become aware of Hmong as a group? (Or when did you first begin to notice their presence in Fresno?)

RESPONDENT

- #1 In schools where I taught.
- #2 Aug 91.
- #3 Mid 1980's.

- #4 1981-82.
- #5 Valley Children's Hospital as patients and in my neighborhood as my local grocery store began to adjust its merchandise to meet their needs.
- #6 I've begun to become aware of Hmong my 2nd semester here in Fresno 1990.
- #7 2-3 years ago when I lived in area west of C.S.UJ'.
- #8 Church capacity.
- #9 I first noticed in 1986.
- #10 I'm not sure I can place a time.
- #11 1986-87 when working to address educational needs in community.
- #12 When I was in high school about 1981.
- #13 (No Response.)
- #14 At work at Childrens Hospital.
- #15 When I went to high school 1983 as a freshman.
- #16 A decade ago.
- #17 In labor and deliver.
- #18 3-4 years ago.
- #19 When living in Stockton, CA.
- #20 When I moved to Fresno in 1983 attending C.S.U. Fresno.
- #21 Seeing them on the streets and seeing the older family members walking around in the native clothes. This was several years ago. Now I see grocery stores for them and neighborhoods where they live.
- #22 When I first move to Fresno, and I attend High School.
- #23 When I supervised them.
- #24 3 years ago when I moved here.
- #25 As they began entering the San Joaquin Valley--directly after the Vietnam War.
- #26 I am not from Fresno. I'm from a farming town 1-1/2 [hours] away. They fish there at the lakes.
- #27 About 1981 while a student at Fresno City College.

What were your initial perceptions or impressions of them?

RESPONDENT

- #1 That they were strangers in a strange land with a horrid background of unhappy experiences and great loss.
- #2 I was worried. I didn't know what to expect.
- #3 Just another S.E. Asian refugee group. (This is generally positive, because I have dealt personally with Cambodian and Laotian refugees.)
- #4 Not very positive-assumed they would be welfare recipients.
- #5 I think variety is interesting and healthy for a neighborhood and a society. My impressions were as I previously indicated.
- #6 There are a lot of them. They have a lot of children.
- #7 Freeloaders, living off government.
- #8 Another group of people admitted to the welfare system-burden on tax papers. Not as clean as Americans in general.
- #9 My initial impression was one of compassion for them, and that they were a humble people.
- #10 Foreign, different, timid.
- #11 They were timid.
- #12 That they were people who were coming to this country because of the opportunities here.
- #13 They looked different than the Spanish.
- #14 I had compassion for their innocence.
- #15 None really, just that they seemed to come out of no where and there were a lot of them.
- #16 Pleasant, unassuming, shy, eager to please, uncertain.
- #17 They look like street people (mismatched clothes).
- #18 Somewhat neutral—maybe at times negative.
- #19 Independent, hard-working.
- #20 Unsure.
- #21 No particular feelings one way or the other.
- #22 Lack of education. Most them tend not to work very hard.

- #23 Good.
- #24 Hard workers, lower-socio-economic status.
- #25 Sympathy.
- #26 They like to eat fish.
- #27 They're very small people; very reticent at times.

Have your perceptions/impressions changed over time? If so, why and in what way?

RESPONDENT

- #1 They are people like other people, making great strides in one generation in adjusting to a culture differing enormously from their own. They are to be commended, assisted, encouraged, enfolded.
- #2 I discovered that they were warm and friendly however they would say what they wanted to or felt.
- #3 Not really, perhaps disappointment that some joined gangs.
- #4 Yes! See them one generation away from being very productive citizens.
- #5 The only change is that I worry about stories I hear about Hmong youth gangs as gangs tend to occur when families are breaking down and the family unit is a critical part of what I have perceived as a Hmong strength.
- #6 I feel sorry for a lot of the families who have big families. It's hard to have a stable income when you have a lot of children.
- #7 Yes, through learning about them and how they earned the money, through Vietnam war, and helping us there.
- #8 90% change-Understanding what brought them to U.S. in the first place. Knowing they want to work-most can't find jobs because of A) not proficient in English, B) prejudice on the part of prospective employers, C) job competition in a state highly populated with blacks and Hispanics.
- #9 For the most part my impression have remained the same.
- #10 Yes, the change mainly came via my teacher experience. I acquired a respect and compassion for them.
- #11 Yes, because I have seen their confidence level increase as they attend school.
- #12 Not really. I think they were seeking the opportunity for freedom.
- #13 No.

- #14 No.
- #15 Not really. I try not to be a judgmental person. I've never had a bad impression of them.
- #16 Not much.
- #17 Not really.
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 Same.
- #20 Yes, I've learned and lived with Hmongs and I believe that has given me a better understanding.
- #21 They seem to be more visible-more out in the open-more numerous. There are more articles in the paper about their culture and their needs.
- #22 (No Response.)
- #23 No, same.
- #24 Now, that I have met and seen more Hmongs-my perceptions are more positive.
- #25 No.
- #26 I have become more aware of the great cultural difference and the shocks and changes they must overcome.
- #27 I think they are very industrious and diligent now.
18. Have you encountered any difficulties in communicating with Hmongs? (If so, what are they?)

RESPONDENT

- #1 Yes, language.
- #2 Yes. Many times they would leave messages and notes. The grammar was so poor sometimes that it required time to figure them out.
- #3 No, but see (question) #10 regarding my wife.
- #4 Very little.
- #5 Yes, the kinds of difficulties one has when trying to communicate with someone who speaks a different language or when you have both not fully acquired the language of the other. ESL type problems.
- #6 Not really-only language difficulties.

- #7 Language barriers, understanding them.
- #8 (No Response.)
- #9 Yes, some language barriers. I don't speak Hmong, and some of them don't speak English well.
- #10 They have limited English skills - the one whom I taught
- #11 Yes, the language/cultural differences.
- #12 Yes. It is very hard to understand them when they try to speak English.
- #13 Haven't tried except once and the Hmong gentleman spoke very acceptable broken English.
- #14 See (question) #11.
- #15 Yes, just in language.
- #16 No experience.
- #17 Yes, language.
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 Some of Hmong are learning English.
- #20 Very little.
- #21 Some have limited use of English language skills.
- #22 No.
- #23 No.
- #24 No.
- #25 No.
- #26 A little. The ones that I have talked to were able to communicate in English though.
- #27 Yes, their English is a bit broken, but I have experience with that

19. Other than language differences, have you encountered any difficulties in working or living with Hmong? (If so, what are they?)

RESPONDENT

- #1 Their values as I mentioned in re to time and schedules.

- #2 They were clean and intense. I'm laid back and relaxed. They wanted things done that I felt were unnecessary.
- #3 No or Not applicable.
- #4 None.
- #5 No, not really. There can be misunderstandings at first, but it only takes a little effort to clear them up if both parties have good will.
- #6 No.
- #7 Not really, unless you consider the biases I have about them.
- #8 (No Response.)
- #9 No.
- #10 No.
- #11 None.
- #12 Yes. I sometimes wonder if the stories are true about them eating dogs and I would never eat any meat they cook.
- #13 No.
- #14 No.
- #15 No.
- #16 No experience.
- #17 They are not very sanitary when it comes to having babies. They try to squat on the ground and drop the baby on the floor, then they pull the placenta out. It would be nice to be more sanitary.
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 No.
- #20 No.
- #21 Not me personally. I have no close friends who are Hmong.
- #22 Yes, different point of view.
- #23 No.
- #24 No.

#25 (No Response.)

#26 No. My neighbors are fishermen. They do resent the lack of law enforcement by fish and game when they violate the laws at the lake.

#27 No.

Briefly, what do you know about Hmong culture?

RESPONDENT

- #1 They were considered backward even in that part of the world. They have interesting and colorful ceremonies and costumes.
- #2 Learned cooking and eating habits, and found that they spoke strait forward, even crude at times.
- #3 Agricultural based.
- #4 Very little—know it's controlled by the family leader. Also they are very superstitious.
- #5 Very little really. I have the impression that the tribal and family hierarchy is central. There are still fiercely held old traditions and even superstitions. I am extremely fond of the handicrafts-especially textiles.
- #6 I only remember hearsay and that is not valid.
- #7 Farmers in Laos, very family oriented.
- #8 Hmongs are descendants of Chinese who invaded Laos highlands centuries ago. When Chinese went home some troops were left behind. Mixed with local culture in the highlands of Laos.
- #9 They are family-oriented and meek.
- #10 The family ties are strong; the marriage-courtting ritual is quite different than ours; they are farmers.
- #11 They were farmers and village people in their homeland.
- #12 They live together as large family units.
- #13 Nothing except their religion is involved with animals in some way.
- #14 Check (questions) #3 and #6.
- #15 Not very much. Just little things such as they don't like to be touched on the head.
- #16 Very little.

- #17 (No Response.)
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 Nothing.
- #20 I know a bit about religion and dress but not enough to go into details.
- #21 Very little. I enjoy their art work and hand crafted items. They make beautiful wall hangings, ties, etc.
- #22 They could marry their own relative, but not anyone with the same last name.
- #23 Basically farmer types, very little formal language training or history.
- #24 Not much.
- #25 LitUe.
- #26 Everything has a spirit Superstitions come from this. Many Buddhists. Strange way of stealing their prospective wife from the family. Big generation gap.
- #27 It is very family centered and male dominated.

21. How did you learn these things about Hmong culture?

RESPONDENT

- #1 From them and other Asians. I have attended their New Years celebration and weddings.
- #2 By living with them for a time.
- #3 Primarily by associations with other South-east Asian groups.
- #4 Through contacts developing the T.V. series.
- #5 Hearsay.
- #6 N/A.
- #7 Reading history books, and other books.
- #8 Reading-conversation with Lao and other Asian people.
- #9 By observation, and from those who work with them in church.
- #10 Through my students and my daughter's friend.
- #11 Seminar.

- #12 By observation.
- #13 A newspaper article-bad press.
- #14 Nursing orientation class.
- #15 Talking to our Hmong student personal services assistant.
- #16 Only by reading-one seminar years ago in hospital setting. The thing I remember is being told not to clip off a woven bracelet from Hmong patients. It has something to do with afterlife.
- #17 By other nurses.
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 (No Response.)
- #20 From article/presentations.
- #21 Reading articles in the paper or hearing others talk about them. One teacher at my college arranged an exhibit of their arts and crafts work in the library one time.
- #22 My best friend nationally was Hmong.
- #23 Read them and they told me.
- #24 N/A.
- #25 Conversation and via the news media.
- #26 Books about war. Talking with people.
- #27 From the newspaper and other school personnel.

22. Do you think the Hmong have been stereotyped in any way? If so, what are some identifying characteristics of the stereotype?

RESPONDENT

- #1 Their physical characteristics are unique, life and clothing styles are also different.
- #2 Yes. By their physical characteristics. They are often thrown into the Asian mold or stereotype. For example people say they are Japanese or Chinese without talking to them and finding out what they really are.
- #3 I assume that this means stereotyped by others. I imagine that some others do stereotype them, but I don't really know in what way.
- #4 Unusual food (eat dogs, etc.) Size-generally short people.

- #5 Unfortunately, most groups end up being stereotyped-especially the new immigrant on the block. Mine is probably positive for the most part-in so far as any stereotyping can be considered positive.
- #6 Yes, I feel they have been stereotyped: a lot of children; long clothes; mean (not happy); eat dogs and cats; very quiet; short-dark hair.
- #7 Garbage diggers, poor looking clothes, lowly (holding heads low), population exploders.
- #8 Height-taller. Women-known for beautiful needlework. Thrifty-in all things-especially food preparation.
- #9 Yes. They are stereotyped as backwards, stupid, lazy, welfare-seekers. I think these ideas arise from fear of our own economy going bad and also from not getting to know and understand the Hmong people and their reasons for coming here.
- #10 Yes. Same as (question) #11.
- #11 Yes, lower economic status, not as bright
- #12 Humble-Poor.
- #13 Have no idea-not in my information bank.
- #14 When people see them in American clothes, they expect them to be American cultured. The fact is that their dress was very different in the old country.
- #15 Yes, such as dog and cat eaters, having 3 and 4 families in one room, etc.
- #16 Yes. Small, uncertain, willing to settle for less, raise own food, eager to please, many children, crowded substandard housing, menial jobs.
- #17 Yes-clothing, birthing process.
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 Seek welfare.
- #20 Yes, clothes, car purchases.
- #21 See (question) #10. I can't always identify Hmongs from Laotians, Cambodians, Vietnamese, etc.
- #22 Yes.
- #23 No.
- #24 Stereotyped as fieldworkers, poor.
- #25 Probably.

#26 Yes. Oh, they get a free house and car. Everyone lives together. They are poachers.

#27 (No Response.)

Do you belong to community or religious groups that have rendered help or assistance to the Hmong? If so, what kind of help has the group given?

RESPONDENT

#1 Yes, Church-fmancial, educational, religious.

#2 (No Response.)

#3 No. But have helped other refugee groups with housing, clothing, sponsoring.

#4 Yes. We provided a Church building for their worship activities.

#5 No.

#6 Not sure if we helped Hmong in particular but I know we've donated assistance to who asks.

#7 No.

#8 Yes-food, clothing, occasional cash outlay for various things. Counseling and transportation on myriad day to day problems such as medical, legal, school, utility bills, etc.

#9 Yes.

#10 No.

#11 No.

#12 Welfare assistance in food, clothing, and help in transportation.

#13 (No Response.)

#14 I'mLDS. I don't know.

#15 (No Response.)

#16 No.

#17 (No Response.)

#18 (No Response.)

#19 No.

#20 No.

- #21 No.
- #22 No.
- #23 Yes, Church. Help with garden, pre-school, reading, etc.
- #24 ?
- #25 No.
- #26 Yes. Spiritual, welfare.
- #27 No.

What is the name or affiliation of the group or church?

RESPONDENT

- #1 College Church of Christ
- #2 (No Response.)
- #3 Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).
- #4 Friends Community Church.
- #5 N/A.
- #6 Lions Club (Salinas), PSE (Pi Sigma Epsilon), Catholic Apostle Church (Madonna de Salso)
- #7 N/A.
- #8 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
- #9 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints teaches them English, helps them with food and clothing, and teaches them the gospel of Christ.
- #10 (No Response.)
- #11 None.
- #12 The Church Of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.
- #13 (No Response.)
- #14 LDS.
- #15 (No Response.)
- #16 None.

- #17 (No Response.)
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 (No Response.)
- #20 (No Response.)
- #21 (No Response.)
- #22 (No Response.)
- #23 Episcopal Church.
- #24 (No Response.)
- #25 (No Response.)
- #26 LDS.
- #27 (No Response.)

25. Have you personally participated in any such projects? If so, what have you done?

RESPONDENT

- #1 Yes, contributed money, visited, taught.
- #2 (No Response.)
- #3 Not pertaining to Hmongs.
- #4 Dinner exchange-one time. My wife must eat very bland food.
- #5 No.
- #6 I've participated in many projects. For example: Bake sales, marathons, golf tournament, etc. We don't ask for nationalities or ethnic backgrounds. We just raise money and help those in financial disabilities.
- #7 N/A.
- #8 (No Response.)
- #9 Yes, I helped once with a Christmas service project giving gifts to a Hmong family.
- #10 (No Response.)
- #11 (No Response.)

- #12 No.
- #13 No, I haven't participated.
- #14 No.
- #15 (No Response.)
- #16 No.
- #17 (No Response.)
- #18 (No Response.)
- #19 Nothing.
- #20 No.
- #21 (No Response.)
- #22 (No Response.)
- #23 No comment
- #24 (No Response.)
- #25 (No Response.)
- #26 No.
- #27 N/A.

What descriptive words would you use to describe your attitudes or feelings about the Hmongs? (Use any descriptors you would like. Here are some to stimulate your thinking: admiration, disinterest, curiosity, dislike, etc.)

RESPONDENT

- #1 They were refugees-I admire them for the changes they have been able to incorporate. Their children are cooperative. They have never been discipline problems to me. They are eager; they respect authority. Our schools and communities benefit from people like that
- #2 (No Response.)
- #3 Open, respond to individual as an individual (not stereotype).
- #4 I admire them. I am fascinated by their stories of escape and resettlement.
- #5 I would like to learn more and really should have made more of an effort to do so. I admire the diligence of my Hmong students.

- #6 Unsure how to describe Hmong generally-different people with different personalities. Curiosity of what most Hmong generally are feeling.
- #7 Dislike, hatred, biased against, mistrust, uncaring.
- #8 Admiration, curiosity. Religious-they are here according to the mercy of God. We have a responsibility to help and share what we have with them.
- #9 Compassion, curiosity, fear, uncomfortable.
- #10 Respect, admiration, curiosity, interest
- #11 I have found these people to be survivors.
- #12 Apathy, curiosity.
- #13 Disinterest.
- #14 Check all of the above.
- #15 None. They are people just like us.
- #16 Curiosity, encouragement, admiration.
- #17 Interest intrigue, bitterness.
- #18 Disinterested but a little curious at times.
- #19 Empathetic, admire, curious.
- #20 Hardworking/go getters.
- #21 Sympathy, resentment curiosity, apathy, admiration-for their art work and desire to go to college.
- #22 My descriptive about the Hmong the culture is that they are very friendly and well manner. The only thing that they need to change was their culture.
- #23 Positive.
- #24 Admiration, interested, pity.
- #25 Sympathy.
- #26 They have had many hardships. Many or all have lost family members. I feel sorrow for the pain and torture they must have went through. I admire their desire to go on living after all they have went through in Laos.
- #27 Admiration, curiosity, sympathy.

27. What descriptive words would you use to sum up your attitudes or feelings about what the Hmongs are like? (Use any descriptors you would like. Here are some to stimulate your thinking: hard-working, lazy, odd, just-like-us, family-oriented, trouble-makers, pleasant, hard to get along with, nice, cruel, gentle, intelligent, unintelligent, hardship to our society, contribution to our society, shy, aggressive, etc.)

RESPONDENT

- #1 Hardworking, family-oriented, gentle, contribution to our society.
- #2 Probably the thing that bothered me most was sharing our kitchen. Many of their practices in the kitchen would be considered "cochino" (Spanish): Dirty compared to our standard and many times unsafe and unsanitary to the others in the apartment.
- #3 Hard-working, having potential but sometimes lacking opportunity.
- #4 Very family oriented, hard working, tough discipline-especially hard on females.
- #5 While they undoubtedly represent the same range of human behaviors as any other group, my big generalization based on my experience would be: hardworking, family-oriented, tribal-centered, gentle and polite, and linguistically disadvantaged.
- #6 Just like us, but hardship to our society if not stable; shy (girls are); family-oriented.
- #7 Baby producers, hard working, freeloaders, family-oriented, problem makers, very different, shy.
- #8 Hardworking, just-like-us, family-oriented, pleasant, nice, gentle, intelligent, shy. There is no doubt about the fact that the money from our tax-dollars goes to support them. Southeast Asians: They have a high birth rate. Costs astronomical here in Fresno for support of high-influx of Southeast Asians. Southeast Asians in general: some areas where they live become strewn with rubbish, sidewalks and walkways are heavily soiled. They have large families and often open their homes to relatives who need help-so—many people in small area.
- #9 Ambitious, freedom-loving, kind, humble, family-oriented, scared, wanting to fit in.
- #10 Family-oriented, pleasant, nice, gentle, intelligent, contribution to our society, shy.
- #11 Hardworking, quiet, unassuming.
- #12 Gentle people for the most part, survivors, shy.
- #13 Before I saw Hmongs - in my mind I thought them huge *people*. I guess because I thought they were mountain men. I was surprised when I saw a group together how small in stature they were and how poor they looked but I felt them to be very intelligent
- #14 Hardworking, family-oriented, non-affectionate, intelligent, innocently oppressed, a contribution to society.
- #15 Very nice people.

- #16 Hardworking, family-oriented, pleasant, nice, gentle, intelligent, hardship to our society, shy.
- #17 Mellow, nonchalant, stoic, family oriented.
- #18 Family-oriented.
- #19 Don't really know what Hmong are like except human like all of us.
- #20 Quiet. Clan or family oriented. Trying to make it here.
- #21 Shy, hardship to our society, misfits in our culture, family oriented, a few are hard working, and industrious.
- #22 I'm more and happy to have a Hmong person as a friend.
- #23 Hard-working-family oriented, loyal.
- #24 Hard workers, some trouble-makers, family oriented, education oriented.
- #25 Refugees who deserve patience, understanding and sympathy.
- #26 Hardworking, gentle, helpful, intelligent.
- #27 (No Response.)

Please relate anything else about your perceptions of the Hmong, about public perceptions that you are aware of, or about your thoughts and feelings about the Hmong that have not been addressed by this questionnaire. (For example: Do you feel the Hmong have a right to be here? Do you feel they have a fair claim to tax resources, welfare, etc.? Do you feel public perceptions about the Hmong are valid? Do you have opinions about how the Hmong are getting along in our culture? Please discuss anything that comes to mind.)

RESPONDENT

- #1 They have as much right to be here as I. My ancestors crossed the Atlantic several generations ago. In another couple of generations only their physical characteristics will distinguish them so quickly are they adapting. I always wonder, "How would it be if I were in their shoes? Could I do as well?" They seem to be less burdensome to our tax dollars than many others. I think we better learn to pronounce their names; they may be running this country. Let's hope they do a better job than our current representatives. They appear to be far more honest, less deceitful, and hardworking.
- #2 I don't really care if they are here. If they affect my life and bother me its just an individual not the culture.
- #3 The biggest problem I see with the Hmong and other *SE*. Asians is that our culture and programs do little to relate to their background and lifestyle. If they were given small plots of land instead of welfare apartments, I think they could actually fit in better with our culture and society because they would be able to maintain self-esteem and have something to do. More emphasis should also be placed on ESL programs.

- #4 Give them a few more years. They will become very productive citizens.
- #5 Yes, they have a right to be here. Based upon my understanding, our agreements give them a fair claim to assistance. Public perception and mine too could undoubtedly be broadened with more accurate information and associations. My contacts have suggested that they are getting along pretty well but more understanding is needed and perhaps more effort to help them to successfully adapt in the U.S.
- #6 Hmong have a right to be in America but not Aliens they need to be recognized and added to the consensus. Public perceptions seem negative and a lot of Fresno communities don't want to deal with them so they are invisible. They are here but not recognized. Only time will tell how they will get along—I'm worried about the children. Hopefully they don't become criminals. We need to help these families if they are here to stay cause in the future they will be a bigger burden on our society. Education is a must!
- #7 I belief [sic] we [sic] should be in America but I wouldn't want them in my area. I don't think they should be on welfare (ie. war chest). Some of the perception are correct but others are way off base. They are not assimilating into our society but they are keeping to themselves.
- #8 They have the right to be here because-assisting U.S. in Vietnam caused their lives to be in jeopardy in their own country. I'm ambiguous about cost of supporting generations of burgeoning families forever. Sometimes I hate it—but sometimes I feel that Americans have far more than we need. We have not suffered war-devastation of our homeland like many countries. We are given much-we should share what we have. We can learn much about loyalty, unselfishness, devoted families, sibling relationships where sisters and brothers in a family are best friend with each other.
- #9 Yes, Hmong have a right to be here. I have a hard time with this one. I think the welfare system should help them find work as fast as they are able to, because I do believe they are, for the most part, very willing to work and be self-sufficient.
- #10 I feel they do have a right to be here and a fair claim to our resources. I don't feel public perceptions are accurate, mainly because of ignorance. It seems that it is very difficult for the Hmong to assimilate into our culture. The young people I have heard of who have been able to, for instance, go on to college have done so with a combination of sheer determination and the help of a mentor.
- #11 Not having all the information about their migration to U.S. and the government's involvement, it's difficult for me to criticize or make judgement calls. I believe everyone should contribute to our national well-being. Job training, education, mainstreaming activities are contributors to that wellness and an investment by our government. After the investment, the persons would have an obligation to contribute.
- #12 Many people feel that they just leach off of our government for welfare assistance. But I feel that they deserve any help that we can give them. They've gone through a lot more than any of us will ever have to in order to gain their freedom.
- #13 (No Response.)

- #14 I feel they are an attribute to our society. I watch them nurturing their crops and feel that they set an example for us. They are a blessing and their children are beautiful.
- #15 Unfortunately, I think they need to adapt more to our way of living in order to "fit in." If possible, let me know of your outcome for the program.
- #16 With a deep sigh~I do believe the Hmong have a right to be here. Every new group in this country has taxed the resources-emotional, if not financial of the already established groups. I feel that I, and probably most of the public, are ill-informed about the Hmong population in our community despite my awareness that there are organized and earnest efforts to educate us. I believe the Hmong are establishing themselves, with help, as well as can be expected at this stage and in an alien culture.
- #17 I really feel that we should stop allowing so many into our country and that it shouldn't be so easy for them to get aid.
- #18 I feel they should be given a chance but should not continue to get public assistance after a time.
- #19 Hmong have a right to be here and have access to services. Some of the public have warped perceptions since they don't know anything about the Hmong either. I sense that the Hmong are not truly happy here away from their country.
- #20 (No Response.)
- #21 I'm tired of so many foreigners coming into our country and getting on welfare. We have such limited resources for those who pay taxes let alone those who don't. They just arrive here and expect help and handouts.
- #22 (No Response.)
- #23 Everyone has a right to live in the USA.
- #24 I feel Hmong do have a right to be here in America, but do not have a right to public funds such as welfare. I doubt if the public really knows much about the Hmong.
- #25 (No Response.)
- #26 I think that like all immigrants they need time to adapt. The children are adapted very well. With new generations they will fit just fine here in America.
- #27 Everyone has a right to be anywhere they choose to be.

APPENDIX M

EXPERIENTIAL TEXT: TABLES OF ANALYSIS

Table M.1
Depth/Detail of Respondent Knowledge
About Hmong History and Culture
(Questions #3 and #20)

HISTORY (Question #3)	CULTURE (Question #20)
<p style="text-align: center;">SPECIFIC AND/OR EXTENSIVE AND ACCURATE KNOWLEDGE OF HMONG HISTORY (Question #3)</p> <p>Respondent #: 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 22, 26</p> <p>Total = 10 1</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SPECIFIC AND/OR EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE OF HMONG CULTURE (Question #20)</p> <p>Respondent #: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 22, 26, 27</p> <p>Total = 11 3</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">LIMITED, UNDETAILED, AND/OR INACCURATE KNOWLEDGE OF HMONG HISTORY (Question #3)</p> <p>Respondent #: 2, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27</p> <p>Total = 17 2</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LITTLE OR NO KNOWLEDGE OF HMONG CULTURE (Question #20)</p> <p>Respondent #: 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 2, 23, 24, 25</p> <p>Total = 14 4</p>
NO RESPONSE: 0	NO RESPONSE: R#: 17, 18

Table M.2
Summary of Respondents' Knowledge
About Hmong Culture
(Question #20)

HMONG CULTURAL PRACTICES OF WHICH RESPONDENTS HAVE KNOWLEDGE	RESPONDENTS HAVING KNOWLEDGE IN THESE CATEGORIES OF CULTURAL PRACTICES	TOTAL RESPONDENTS EXPRESSING KNOWLEDGE IN THESE CATEGORIES
Marriage and family life: Controlled by family leader, tribal and family hierarchy is central; family-oriented; large family units; quite different marriage/courting rituals; can marry own relative but not remain with the same last name; male dominated; big generation gap	R#: 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 22, 26, 27	10
Religious and medical practices: Superstitious; fiercely held old traditions; animistic religious practices; primitive medical behaviors	R#: 4, 5, 13, 14, 26	5
Fam-based culture	R#: 3, 7, 10, 11, 23	5
Beautiful handicrafts and textiles	R#: 5, 21	2
Considered backward in their own part of the world	R#: 1	1
Cooking and eating habits	R#: 2	1
Straight Forward; crude speech	R#: 2	1
Interesting and colorful ceremonies and costumes	R#: 1	1
Little formal language training	R#: 23	1
Not outwardly affectionate	R#: 14	1
Don't like to be touched on head	R#: 15	1

Table M.3
Respondent Attribution of Source of
Knowledge About Hmong Culture
(Question #21)

RESPONDENT	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG (INCLUDING OBSERVATION)	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG	NEWSPAPER AND BROADCAST MEDIA DISCOURSE	READING	NO RESPONSE
#1	First	Second			
#2	First				
#3		First			
#4		First			
#5		First			
#6					X
#7				First	
#8		Second		First	
#9	First*	Second			
#10	First	Second			
#11		First			
#12	First*				
#13			First		
#14		First			
#15	First				
#16		Second		First	
#17		First			
#18					X

First = First attribution of source of cultural knowledge

Second = Second attribution of source of cultural knowledge

* = Cultural knowledge gained "by observation"

Table M.3 - Continued

RESPONDENT	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG (INCLUDING OBSERVATION)	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG	NEWSPAPER AND BROADCAST MEDIA DISCOURSE	READING	NO RESPONSE
#19					X
#20		Second	First		
#21		Second	First		
#22	First				
#23	Second		First		
#24					X
#25		First	Second		
#26		Second		First	
#27		Second	First		

First = First attribution of source of cultural knowledge

Second = Second attribution of source of cultural knowledge

* = Cultural knowledge gained "by observation"

Table M.4

Summary of Table M.3: Respondent Attribution of
Source of Knowledge About Hmong Culture
(Question #21)

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG	NEWSPAPER AND BROADCAST MEDIA DISCOURSE	READING
First or Only Attribution: 7 Second Attribution: 1	First or Only Attribution: 7 Second Attribution: 9	First or Only Attribution: 5 Second Attribution: 1	First or Only Attribution: 4 Second Attribution: 0
TOTAL RESPONDENTS: 8	16	6	4

Table M.5

Distribution of Source of Knowledge Attribution
About Hmong Culture Among the Twelve
Respondents Who Cite One Source
(Question #21)

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG	NEWSPAPER AND BROADCAST MEDIA DISCOURSE	READING
R#: 2, 12, 15, 22 4	R#:3,4, 5, 11, 14, 17 6	R#: 13 1	R#:7 1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS: 4	6	1	1

Table M.6

Distribution of Source of Knowledge Attribution

About Hmong Culture Among the Eleven

Respondents Who Cite Two Sources

(Question #21)

FIRST OR SECOND ATTRIBUTION	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG	NEWSPAPER AND BROADCAST MEDIA DISCOURSE	READING
First Attribution	R# 1, 9, 10 3	R#:25 1	R# 20, 21, 23, 27 4	R# 8, 16, 26 3
Second Attribution	R# 23 1	R# 1,8, 9, 10, 11, 16,20,21,26,27 9	R#:25 1	R# None 0
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	4	10	5	3

Table M.7
 Participation in Discourse Systems of Respondents
 with Specific and/or Extensive Knowledge
 of Hmong History and Culture

RESPONDENT	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH HMONG	INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION ABOUT HMONG	MEDIA DISCOURSE ABOUT HMONG
#1	Extensive	Extensive	Limited
#4	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#5	Extensive	Extensive	Limited
#7	Limited	Extensive	Limited
#8	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive
#22	Extensive	Limited	Limited
#26	None	Extensive	Limited

Table M.8
 Characterization of Experience with Hmong as Positive,
 Negative, or Mixed for Respondents and Others
 (Questions #9 and #12)

RESPONDENT	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE (Question #9)				EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS (Question #12)			
	Pos.	Neg.	Mixed	None; N/A; or No Response	Pos.	Neg.	Mixed	None; N/A; or No Response
#1	X*		X*			X	X	
#2	X					X		
#3	X				X			
#4	X				X			
#5	X				X			
#6	X						X	
#7			X			X		
#8	X				X			
#9	X						X	
#10	X				X			
#11	X						X	
#12	X				X			
#13	X						X	
#14	X				X		X	
#15	X*		X*				X	
#16	X							X
#17			X			X		
#18				X			X	

* Respondents #1 and #15 reported their experiences in Question #9 as both mixed and mostly positive. Both responses are charted.

Table M.8 - Continued

RESPONDENT	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE (Question #9)				EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS (Question #12)			
	Pos.	Neg.	Mixed	None, N/A; or No Response	Pos.	Neg.	Mixed	None, N/A; or No Response
#19	X						X	
#20	X						X	
#21	X					X		
#22			X					X
#23	X				X			
#24	X					X		
#25				X				X
#26	X						X	
#27			X				X	
TOTALS	21	0	6	2	8	6	12	3

Table M.9
Summary of Respondents' Personal Contact/
Experience with the Hmong
(Question #10)

positive EXPERIENCE	NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE
<p>Interpersonal Skills and Personal Characteristics Friendly; affectionate; helpful; appreciative; thoughtful acts of service; polite; understanding; quiet; keep to themselves; childlike humility; patient; interested in upgrading communication skills and understanding of cultural differences and barriers.</p> <p>Work Habits Good/hard workers; highly motivated; willing to do a good job; grow and sell strawberries and vegetables at roadside stands.</p> <p>Orientation to Education Concerned with school; eager to learn; hard work put into school.</p> <p>Family Orientation Took turns as family to be at children's bedsides throughout the night</p>	<p>Personal Habits Consistently late to Sunday School, and disruptive upon arrival; unsanitary culinary habits; rude; marry too early.</p> <p>Language Barrier Don't speak English well.</p> <p>Financial Affairs Saturating welfare program and depriving U.S. citizens from aid; seeing them driving big, nice cars.</p>

Table M.10

Summary of Respondents' Descriptions of Others'

Contact/Experience with the Hmong

(Question #12)

POSITIVE EXPERIENCE	NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE
<p>Good Workers</p> <p>Eager to Learn</p>	<p>Personal Characteristics Rude; unfriendly; backward; lazy, poor language skills.</p> <p>Lifestyle Characteristics More children than they can afford; live in over-crowded apartments; don't practice birth control; eat cats and dogs; unsanitary health and personal habits; don't keep their yards up.</p> <p>Economic Issues Drain on welfare system; they run down property values.</p> <p>Law Enforcement Issues Criminals; gangs; don't follow fishing laws; roam neighborhoods at night stealing from garages.</p>

Table M.11

Initial Perceptions of Hmong and Change Over Time

(Questions #16 and #17)

RESPONDENT	INITIAL PERCEPTIONS (Question #16)				CHANGE OVER TIME?		CHANGED PERCEPTIONS (Question #17)				CHANGED PERCEPTIONS AND REASONS FOR CHANGE (Question #17)
	Pos.	Neg.	Neu.	Empathic	Yes	No	Pos.	Neg.	Neu.	Empathic	
#1				X		X				X	They are people like other people, making great strides in one generation in adjusting to a culture differing enormously from their own. They are to be commended, assisted, encouraged, enfolded
#2			X		X		X				I discovered that they were warm and friendly, however they would say what they wanted to or felt.
#3			X		X			X			Not really, perhaps disappointment that some joined gangs.
#4		X			X		X				Yes! See them one generation away from being very productive citizens.
#5	X				X			X			The only change is that I worry about stories I hear about Hmong youth gangs as gangs tend to occur when families are breaking down and the family unit is a critical part of what I have perceived as a Hmong strength.
#6			X			X				X	I feel sorry for a lot of the families who have big families. It's hard to have a stable income when you have a lot of children.
#7		X			X		X				Yes, through learning about them and how they earned the money, through Vietnam war, and helping us there.

Table M.11 - Continued

RESPONDENT	INITIAL PERCEPTIONS (Question #16)				CHANGE OVER TIME?		CHANGED PERCEPTIONS (Question #17)				CHANGED PERCEPTIONS AND REASONS FOR CHANGE (Question #17)
	Pos.	Neg.	Neu.	Empathic	Yes	No	Pos.	Neg.	Neu.	Empathic	
#8		X			X		X				90% change—Understanding what brought them to U.S. in the first place. Knowing they want to work—most can't find jobs because of A) not proficient in English, B) prejudice on the part of prospective employers, C) job competition in a state highly populated with blacks and Hispanics.
#9				X		X				X	For the most part my impressions have remained the same.
#10			X		X		X				Yes, the change mainly came via my teacher experience. I acquired a respect and compassion for them.
#11			X		X		X				Yes, because I have seen their confidence level increase as they attend school.
#12			X			X			X		Not really. I think they were seeking the opportunity for freedom.
#13			X			X			X		No.
#14				X		X				X	No.
#15			X			X			X		Not really. I try not to be a judgmental person. I've never had a bad impression of them.
#16	X					X	X				Not much.
#17		X				X		X			Not really.
#18		X			X				X		(No Response.)
#19	X					X	X				Same.

Table M.11 - Continued

RESPONDENT	INITIAL PERCEPTIONS (Question #16)				CHANGE OVER TIME?		CHANGED PERCEPTIONS (Question #17)				CHANGED PERCEPTIONS AND REASONS FOR CHANGE (Question #17)
	Pos.	Neg.	Neu.	Empathic	Yes	No	Pos.	Neg.	Neu.	Empathic	
#20			X		X		X				Yes, I've learned and lived with Hmongs and I believe that has given me a better understanding.
#21			X			X			X		They seem to be more visible—more out in the open—more numerous. There are more articles in the paper about their culture and their needs.
#22		X			X		X				(No Response.)
#23	X					X	X				No, same.
#24			X		X		X				Now, that I have met and seen more Hmongs—my perceptions are more positive.
#25				X		X				X	No.
#26			X		X					X	I have become more aware of the great cultural difference and the shocks and changes they must overcome.
#27			X		X		X				I think they are very industrious and diligent now.
TOTALS	4	6	13	4	14	13	13	3	5	6	

Table M.12

Direction of Change for Respondents who Experienced

Changes in Perceptions Over Time

(Question #17)

RESPONDENT	INITIAL PERCEPTION	CHANGED PERCEPTION
#2	Neutral	Positive
#3	Neutral	Negative
#4	Negative	Positive
#5	Positive	Negative
#7	Negative	Positive
#8	Negative	Positive
#10	Neutral	Positive
#11	Neutral	Positive
#18	Negative	Positive
#20	Neutral	Neutral
#22	Negative	Positive
#24	Neutral	Positive
#26	Neutral	Empathetic
#27	Neutral	Positive
SUMMARY		
Positive to Negative	1 (R# 5)	Negative to Neutral 1 (R# 18)
Neutral to Negative	1 (R# 3)	Negative to Positive 4 (R# 4, 7, 8, 22)
Neutral to Empathic	1 (R# 26)	Neutral to Positive 6 (R# 2, 10, 11, 20, 24, 27)

Table M.13
 Causes for Change in Perceptions
 of Hmong Over Time
 (Question #17)

Personal experience with Hmong: getting to know them.	R#: 2, 10, 11,20,24,27	6
Understanding the Hmong want to work; their ability to be productive citizens	R#: 4,8	2
Disappointment/worry about Hmong gangs/crime	R#: 3,5	2
Understanding of Hmong involvement in Vietnam War	R#: 7	1
Understanding of difficulty of Hmong acculturation (empathy)	R#: 26	1

Respondents #18 and #22 did not tell why their impressions changed.

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